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El Salvador: Significant Political Actors and Their Interaction



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This paper was prepared by [redacted] Office
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[redacted] Office of Central
Reference, with a contribution from [redacted]
Office of Global Issues. It was coordinated with the
Directorate of Operations. Comments and queries are
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America-Caribbean Division, ALA, [redacted]

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**El Salvador:
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Summary

*Information available
as of 9 April 1984
was used in this report.*

El Salvador's military establishment has dominated the country's political system through most of this century. Although the military is helping to move the country toward a civilian democracy, it is the final arbiter of most key decisions, and its political instincts are rightist. Only the extreme left strongly resists its authority. Prior to 1979 the military ran the government under its own system of one-party rightist rule, which became increasingly oppressive to most elements of Salvadoran society during the 1970s. Fraudulent elections were accompanied by increasing repression of dissenters, often in response to the actions of militant leftist opposition forces. Entrenched wealthy interests resisted suggestions for even mild political liberalization.

Fearing a civil war like that in neighboring Nicaragua, a group of military officers sought to preempt the Salvadoran revolutionaries by mounting a coup that established the Revolutionary Governing Junta in October 1979. The junta was subjected to strong centrifugal pressures from both the right and left, and a full internal conflict ensued. Nevertheless, the provisional rulers of El Salvador were able to organize elections for a Constituent Assembly in March 1982, and the Assembly drafted a new, reformist Constitution and prepared the way for presidential elections in March 1984. These developments represented the tentative emergence of a political center despite the efforts of the extreme left and right to dictate events and party politics.

The emerging political center—dominated by the Christian Democratic Party, led by Napoleon Duarte—has gained some ground at the expense of both rightists and leftists, but has weaknesses that have prevented it from achieving a durable unity:

- The Christian Democrats are supported mainly by a centrist labor coalition, the Popular Democratic Union; we expect this support to strengthen with the formal sanctioning of campesino (peasant) unions in the new Constitution. Labor does not unanimously back the center, however. Other unions, mainly associated with the Labor Unity Movement of El Salvador, are heavily influenced by the leftist guerrilla coalition.
- Nor is the church solidly behind the Christian Democrats. A number of church activists, especially within the Jesuit Order, still sympathize with the leftist guerrillas despite support for more centrist political views within the church hierarchy.

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- The Christian Democrats may be able to form temporary coalitions with the leaders of other centrist parties, but the rank and file in these parties may resist such arrangements because of their traditional antipathy to the Christian Democrats.

The extremists in El Salvador, both on the left and the right, are more cohesive and determined than groups and leaders closer to the center. The leftists are controlled by the leaders of five guerrilla groups. Their conditions for ending the internal conflict are stern: they demand a share of power as an interim stage to the eventual establishment of a Marxist regime and refuse to accept the legitimacy of elections or the Constitution. The extreme rightists, led by Roberto D'Aubuisson and supported by most wealthy Salvadorans and a few military officers, bear an enmity toward the political center almost as great as their hatred of the left. They consider the centrists to be virtual collaborators with Marxist groups. We believe that the political order they seek to establish would resemble the authoritarian, single-party-dominated regime that existed prior to 1979.

In one way or another, all significant actors recognize that the role of the United States in influencing the present and future of El Salvador is crucial. The extreme left wants Washington to cede it a share (ultimately a controlling share) in the government. The center-left believes that "dialogue" between the guerrillas and the government is more important than elections; groups elsewhere in the political spectrum fear such a dialogue. The extreme right also is hostile toward US "interference" designed to correct human rights abuses. Elements in the center look to the United States to provide material support, political protection, and a sense of confidence that otherwise has been difficult for them to sustain.

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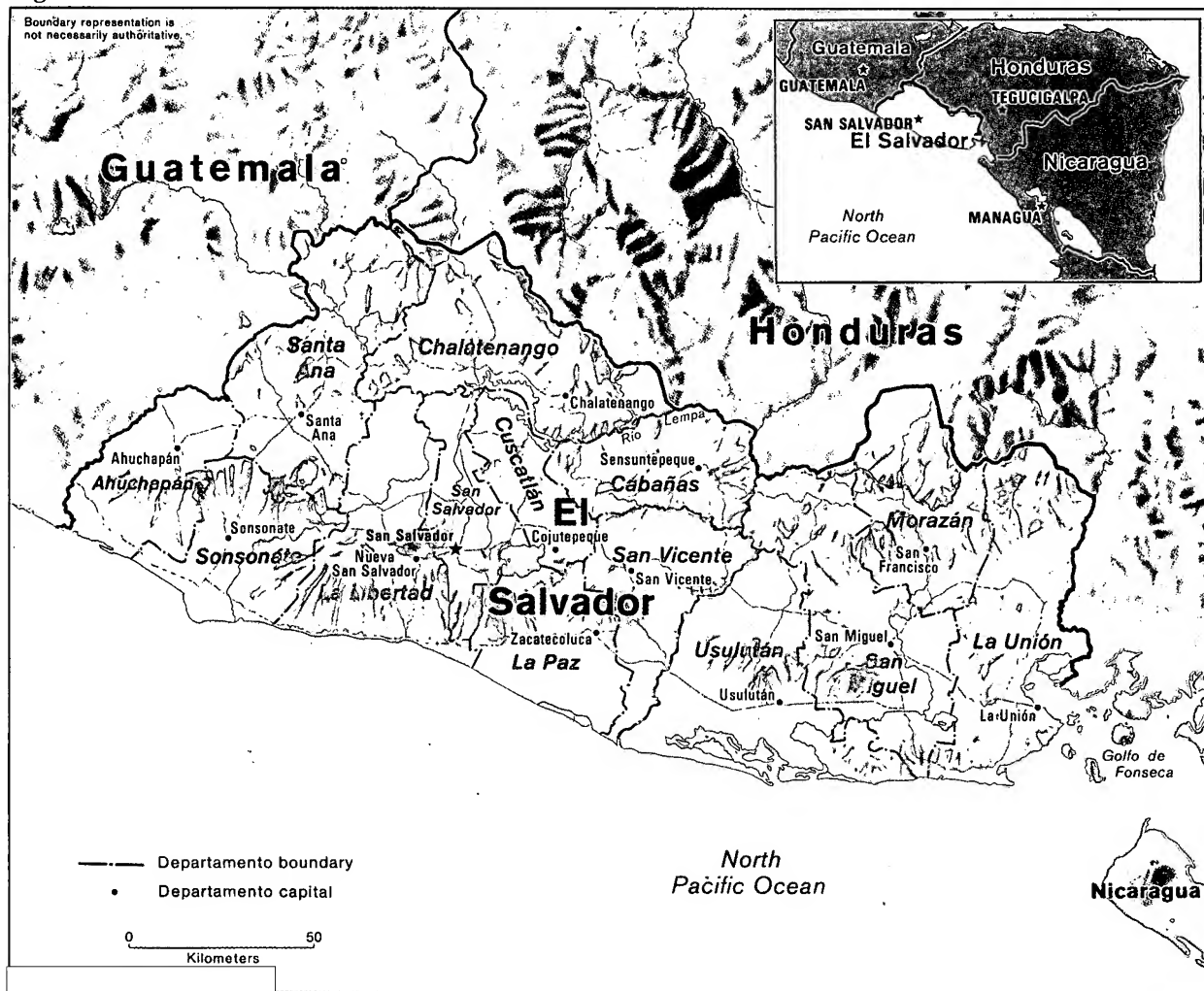
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El Salvador: Significant Political Actors and Their Interaction

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Introduction

El Salvador is making a difficult transition toward democracy. It has a new Constitution, formally approved in December 1983, and is choosing a new president. A national assembly has evolved from the body drafting the Constitution, and legislative elections are scheduled for 1985. These political milestones have been erected despite four years of widespread violence, economic deterioration, and social upheaval. Whether El Salvador continues with the transition will depend largely on the political system's ability to nurture and sustain influential groups and leaders—inside and outside government—who favor democratic solutions. In the Salvadoran context, these political actors tend to be found in or near the center of the political spectrum. The results of the March 1984 presidential election, in which the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) exceeded the plurality achieved two years before in the Constitutional Assembly elections, suggest that the center is gaining strength, at least for now.

Regardless of the outcome of the presidential runoff election scheduled for 6 May and the likely near-term course of the military conflict, many individuals and groups in El Salvador will continue to play political roles of US policy interest. This paper seeks to identify these actors in broad terms and to provide some historical background on them. Those groups nearest the center—for example the church—are the most difficult to categorize because they show the greatest potential for interaction; this study examines ways in which they relate across the political gamut from extreme left to extreme right and draws general implications for the United States. In appendixes A through C we have offered capsule summaries on the key leaders and groups, as well as listing all known organizations presently or recently active.

¹ Appendix A provides an alphabetical summary of the most important Salvadoran organizations. There is a foldout table, *A Guide to Key Political Groups*, at the end of the paper which contains a list of the political organizations, with their abbreviation and orientation, discussed in the text.

Recent Political History

An Uneasy Consensus

The Salvadoran political system traditionally has been authoritarian and dominated by the military establishment. In 1961 Col. Julio Alberto Rivera ousted a junta of civilians and officers, replaced it with another civil-military junta under his (and the military's) control, and soon had himself named president. With support of the military high command he created the National Conciliation Party (PCN) as the political vehicle for the candidacies of a succession of senior military officers running for president.² Thus, Colonel Rivera was succeeded by Gen. Fidel Sanchez Hernandez in 1967, Col. Arturo Armando Molina in 1972, and Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero in 1977. The coup of October 1979 that brought the Revolutionary Governing Junta to power interrupted this process.

For most Salvadorans, this system of rightist military rule had grown increasingly oppressive, but rapid economic expansion initially masked its harsher aspects. Bolstered by substantial US aid under the Alliance for Progress and the formation of the Central American Common Market in the early 1960s, the crucial agricultural sector became the springboard for rapid industrialization during much of the 1960s and 1970s. Consequently, most subsistence farmers and squatters who previously had been evicted by landowners to make way for new plantations found jobs in urban areas in neighboring Honduras—until the 1969 "Soccer War" limited that option—or as seasonal farm migrants. Rural areas benefited from new roads, schools, and public health facilities. As long as many

² The 1962 Constitution required officers to leave active service six months prior to the election date, but they were allowed to wear uniforms and be promoted in rank; and, of course, each president had constitutional control over the military establishment.

Salvadorans continued to prosper materially, the PCN and the military establishment could plausibly claim to be working in the public interest. []

Moreover, the determination of the military establishment to maintain one-party control was not obvious during the 1960s. The 1962 Constitution expressly permitted the existence of "contesting political parties." This provided breathing room for the Christian Democrats and parties to the left of it. Thus, in 1964, a group of socialists from the National University of El Salvador formed the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR). Even the illegal Salvadoran Communist Party (PCES) functioned through a surrogate party, the Nationalist Democratic Union (UDN), formed in 1968. On the other hand, political freedoms were limited in rural areas, where efforts were made to mobilize campesino loyalties in support of the regime rather than to represent legitimate campesino interests. Campesinos were subject to considerable abuse by the various security officials operating on the whims of landowners. []

The Rise of Extremism

In retrospect, the 1969 "Soccer War" with Honduras probably was an important contributor to the polarization of Salvadoran politics, especially in rural areas. The Salvadoran workers expelled from Honduras as a result of the conflict swelled the ranks of the indigent. Although El Salvador sustained fairly rapid economic growth for much of the 1970s, the majority of the country's increasingly overcrowded population gained scant benefits. []

A serious split developed within the Communist Party over whether to exploit the growing potential for political unrest. The late Salvador Cayetano Carpio, who had been secretary general of the PCES since 1964, urged the party to begin armed resistance in the countryside in expectation that the campesinos would join in. Failing to convince other key members of the PCES to join him, Carpio in 1970 formed the Farabundo Marti Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), the first guerrilla group to take the field. A main source of recruits for the FPL in the 1970s proved to be a group of campesinos first organized by the Christian Democrats in the 1960s as the Federation of Salvadoran Christian Peasants. As early as 1970 other groups began to call for the expropriation of large

estates as a necessary solution to the country's socioeconomic problems. The more radical began to organize antiregime demonstrations at the University of El Salvador. []

Polarization increased dramatically following the fraudulent presidential election of 1972. The PCN and the military had already tampered with the 1970 National Assembly elections in order to decrease the PDC's strength. Nevertheless, in 1972 the PDC joined with the MNR and the Communist front, the UDN, to form the National Opposition Union and contest the PCN's candidate, Colonel Molina. The ticket of Jose Napoleon Duarte of the PDC and Guillermo Manuel Ungo of the MNR was clearly ahead of the PCN ticket. Still, the electoral commission, under pressure from the military high command, falsely announced that Molina was ahead and referred the election to the PCN-dominated Assembly, which declared Molina the winner. Because of such blatant fraud, the election, in our view, proved to be the watershed for the political instability that has gripped the country since the mid-1970s. []

The 1972 election also sparked the formation of guerrilla groups targeted directly on urban recruitment. The People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), now headed by Joaquin Villalobos, was formed in 1972 mainly by students and teachers. The Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), now led by Ferman Cienfuegos, along with its front group, the United Popular Action Front (FAPU), emerged in 1974-75 as a result of a violent dispute within the ERP. The ERP contrived its own front group, the Popular Leagues of 28 February (LP-28) in 1977. The FPL shared with the more urban-oriented FARN and ERP a characteristic that both distinguished them from orthodox Marxist-Leninist parties and made them similar to the Sandinista groups in Nicaragua: a strong component of church activists who justified their collaboration with Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries on the basis of the so-called liberation theology. []

Another revolutionary group formed in the mid-1970s was the Central American Revolutionary Workers' Party (PRTC). Founded in Costa Rica by Fabio

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Castillo, exrector of the University of El Salvador, it has sought to appeal to those who believe that a leftist revolution in one Central American country ultimately requires similar revolutions throughout the region in order to be successful. [REDACTED]

Intensified repression from the right followed the political agitation and the onset of mass protests by these extreme leftists. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] we generally agree with academic and journalistic accounts that much of this repression was carried out by the security services, particularly the National Guard. During the mid-1960s, the Guard director, Gen. Jose Medrano, had organized thousands of campesinos into the Nationalist Democratic Organization (ORDEN). In tandem with the Territorial Service—the armed forces inactive reserve—ORDEN was committed at first to projects such as road repair and the construction of health clinics. Gradually both were assigned roles in political indoctrination, intelligence gathering on suspected “subversives,” and then direct support of security force operations in the countryside. They were compensated through monetary gifts from the landowners, preferred status as jobseekers, a measure of social prestige, and the same legal immunity as the military establishment as a whole. In the late 1970s, reporting of ORDEN brutalities began to reach the US defense attache office; during the same period the OAS Inter-American Human Rights Commission investigated ORDEN and strongly recommended that it be abolished. [REDACTED]

Violence associated with the political polarization became extensive. The period since the late 1970s saw the proliferation of death squads sponsored by the security forces and by the private armies serving wealthy families. In addition to maintaining their own armed groups, wealthy Salvadorans mobilized to resist economic reforms. Their principal instrument was the National Association of Private Enterprise (ANEP), which represented nearly all large legitimate businesses and, therefore, most of the elite families in El Salvador. In 1976, when even most PCN leaders and the armed forces high command began to push modest agrarian reform, ANEP and most large landholders balked; the PCN and high command backed down. [REDACTED]

That combination of rightist intransigence, the holding of yet another fraudulent presidential election in 1977, and the increasing violence between leftist guerrillas and rightist elements contributed to a growing perception among many military officers—some reformists, other opportunists—that they would have to act decisively to prevent a full-scale civil war. The July 1979 victory of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua convinced many Salvadorans that the outcome of such a civil war might be a decisive victory for the left. This concern deepened as the Marxist-Leninist nature of the Sandinista leadership became evident. Consequently, in October 1979 a group of junior and middle grade officers overthrew the government of President Romero. [REDACTED]

Provisional Rule

The officers' coup led to the establishment of the generally moderate Revolutionary Governing Junta, which was the primary source of political authority from October 1979 until the March 1982 Constituent Assembly elections. During the junta's rule, however, the country slipped into a full-scale internal conflict. The leftist guerrilla groups and their associated front organizations—with Soviet and Cuban prodding and aid—joined in a combat alliance, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) and its overt political arm, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). The armed forces expanded in size with US aid following the guerrillas' “final offensive” of January 1981. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] the rightist death squads exterminated hundreds—perhaps thousands—of suspected leftists or sympathizers. Internal violence and capital flight compounded the impact of deteriorating global conditions to deal the economy devastating blows. Although the guerrillas were held off, the reconstitution of the junta three times indicated the prevailing instability. [REDACTED]

The replacement of the junta in March 1982 by the Constituent Assembly and the executive elected by it signaled a slight shift to the right but also some tentative emergence of centrist forces. A coalition

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The Revolutionary Governing Junta: Four Phases

The first junta, established in October 1979 as a result of the officers' coup, consisted of: Guillermo Ungo of the MNR and Roman Mayorga, former rector of the University of Central America, both seeking to incorporate leftist elements in the new government; Mario Andino, a businessman whose acceptance of the need for economic reforms lost him the backing of ANEP; and Colonels Jaime Abdul Gutierrez and Adolfo Majano, the latter aggressively committed to broad reforms and the ending of human rights abuses. [REDACTED]

In January 1980, two prominent Christian Democrats—Hector Dada Hirezi and Jose Morales Ehrlich—and Jose Ramon Avalos, an independent, replaced Ungo, Mayorga, and Andino. The resignation of moderate socialists from the regime at least temporarily ended the junta's chances for accommodation with the extreme left (Ungo became president of the FDR in late 1980). ANEP refused to recognize that Avalos represented business interests and complained about the "excessive" representation of the PDC. [REDACTED]

In March 1980 Dada Hirezi resigned after Attorney General Mario Zamora, a PDC member, was assassinated by a rightwing death squad. Jose Napoleon Duarte replaced him, but Dada Hirezi, Zamora's brother Ruben, and a few other PDC members defected from the party to form the Popular Social Christian Movement (MPSC), which eventually joined the FDR. [REDACTED]

In December 1980, Duarte and Gutierrez, by agreement of the armed forces high command, became President and Vice President, respectively; Majano was ousted in order to appease rightwing critics within the military and the private sector. The fourth junta lasted until the March 1982 Constituent Assembly elections. [REDACTED]

headed by the extreme rightist Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) excluded the PDC from control of the Assembly. At the same time, the voluntary

retirement of General Gutierrez, a pragmatic right-centrist willing to collaborate with the PDC but worn out by the effort, weakened the PDC's influence in the military establishment. Both Defense Minister Jose Guillermo Garcia and his successor chosen in April 1983, Carlos Eugenio Vides Casanova, stand politically to the right of Gutierrez. [REDACTED]

Nevertheless, the tenure of the Constituent Assembly offered greater stability at the top than provided by the junta. Moreover, the various parties managed to collaborate on such important issues as the drafting of a new Constitution and the preparation of presidential elections. The reemergence of the PCN as a center-right group added weight in the middle of the political spectrum. On other fronts, President Magana used his authority to initiate discussions with the militant left and to attempt to correct human rights abuses in the security forces. [REDACTED]

El Salvador's new Constitution, the 15th since the country declared its independence in 1821, went into effect in December 1983. At the same time, the Constituent Assembly turned itself into a Legislative Assembly until 1985, and presidential elections were set for March 1984. The FMLN and the FDR, however, have rejected the validity of the Constitution and the March 1984 elections. Many on the right—whose principal leader is Roberto D'Aubuisson of the ARENA party—also seek to undo what progress has been achieved in political liberalization since the 1979 coup. [REDACTED]

The March 1984 elections produced a small relative gain for the Christian Democrats over the March 1982 election, whereas most other parties held their own or lost ground. Central Elections Council returns indicate that the PDC won 43.4 percent of the valid vote, compared with 40.3 percent two years before. ARENA's total in both elections was just under 30 percent. The PCN won 19.3 percent, versus 19.0 percent in March 1982. On the other hand, Democratic Action (AD) obtained only 3.5 percent, compared with 7.5 percent in 1982. Four small rightist parties each obtained less than 2 percent. [REDACTED]

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Figure 2
The Political Spectrum ^a

	Extreme left	Center left	Center	Center right	Extreme right
Parties	FDR MNR MPSC MIPTES		PDC AD	PCN PAISA	ARENA PPS MERECE POP
Paramilitaries	FMLN PCES/FAL FPL RN/FARN PRS/ERP PRTC/FARLP MOR ^b				ESA MHM CAS
Front Group	CRM UDN BPR FAPU LP-28 MLP				
Unions	MUSYGES FECCAS FESTIAVTCES FUSS FSR ^c		UPD ACOPAI CGS CGT CTS		CNT
		FESTRAS			
Private			CONAES	FUSADES	ANEP ASI CCIES
Official Bodies			CCE CDHES (governmental) FINATA	EMC DNI COPREFA	GN PH PN ISTA
Social Groups		CDHES (nongovernmental) Socorro Juridico Comite de Madres UCA UES CEDES Tutela Legal			

^a For discussion of these and other significant political organizations see appendix A.

^b Not part of FMLN.

^c Subordinate to MOR.

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PDC: The Strongest Political Group in El Salvador?

Jose Napoleon Duarte and his running mate, Rodolfo Antonio Castillo, face the presidential runoff with numerous advantages. The party has survived considerable turbulence since its formation in 1960. It has endured the deprivation of electoral victory by fraud (in 1972 and 1977), the defection leftward to the MPSC of distinguished "democratic and progressive" leaders in 1979 and 1980, and the assassination of 37 mayors and many party activists (Duarte claims several hundred) since 1979 by rightist and leftist death squads. It won more support—40 percent of the valid votes—in the March 1982 Assembly elections than any other party and exceeded that percentage in the March 1984 presidential election. It also has developed a strong organizational structure [redacted]

Moreover, the PDC's prestige among other democratic parties in the region, notably in Venezuela and Costa Rica, and among West European counterparts, remains high. The US Embassy commented last October that Duarte (and by extension his party) "symbolizes change in El Salvador toward liberal democracy, as conceived in the United States and Western Europe, more clearly" than anyone else of political prominence in that country [redacted]

The Embassy also noted that Duarte symbolizes that kind of change more "controversially" than anyone else. His enemies on the right will not forgive him for

allying himself in the 1970s with the MNR (now affiliated with the FDR) and the UDN (the front for Shafik Handal's PCES). Many on the right and right center, therefore, agree with D'Aubuisson's caricature of the PDC as the so-called watermelon party—green (for the PDC's official color) outside, but red inside. [redacted]

A book Duarte wrote in 1976 as a political exile in Venezuela, *Communitarianism for a More Humane World*, has fed rightist fears with its emphasis on the sociopolitical activism urged by various recent papal encyclicals. Its title also allows rightists in El Salvador to equate Duarte's philosophy with communism. [redacted]

Duarte may not have been the PDC's strongest candidate. He is controversial compared with Foreign Minister Fidel Chavez Mena, who is viewed in El Salvador as more acceptable to the private sector and, at the same time, perhaps more able than anyone else in the PDC to entice leftist leaders in the FDR to negotiate an end to the internal conflict. Chavez Mena declined to serve on the ticket with Duarte, probably because he did not want to be overshadowed by the PDC's leader, and he seems to have provided less-than-enthusiastic support during the campaign. [redacted]

The Broad Political Spectrum**The Center**

Christian Democrats (PDC). Many leaders of the Salvadoran political center are found in the PDC. The US Embassy has summarized the PDC's economic goals as "slightly socialistic," to be pursued, however, gradually. Politically, the PDC favors a civilian-dominated, pluralistic democracy with strong guarantees for individual rights. [redacted]

The PDC commitment to pluralism occasionally has been stronger than the party's desire for power—a rare quality among political parties. With Duarte as President of the ruling junta, it prepared the way for

the March 1982 Constituent Assembly elections, probably the most honest in El Salvador's history. The PDC lost control of the government to the ARENA-led coalition but accepted this setback gracefully. Its 24 Assembly delegates then set about contributing positively to the drafting of the new Constitution. Moreover, in order to gain some semblance of cooperation from the two other major parties, ARENA and PCN, the PDC voluntarily relinquished more than two-thirds of its mayoralties and thereby a certain amount of its grassroots strength. [redacted]

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The PDC's prospects are tied closely to those of Duarte, but the Embassy has identified a "strong second tier" of youthful PDC leaders, many already participating in government. Among them are Education Minister Carlos Duarte (no relation to Jose Napoleon); Subsecretary of Youth, Sports, and Culture Roberto Viera; Information Secretary Gerardo Le Chevallier; Dr. Humberto Posada, the party's legal adviser; and Assembly Deputy Maurico Mazier, who has proved sufficiently articulate and worrisome to the extreme right over the past year to have attracted a public death threat from that quarter. [REDACTED]

Potentially, these new faces represent a plus and a minus for the PDC's midterm prospects. With presumably fresh ideas for government and flexible attitudes toward their implementation, the party may find more allies or at least fewer enemies among the other parties. Yet, the tensions between these young, ambitious intellectuals and white-collar professionals on the one hand, and the current generation of urban and rural working-class leaders on the other, may lead to a loss of mass support for the PDC, unless some of the labor leaders also can advance within the party. [REDACTED]

Democratic Action Party (AD). A small, moderate party, the AD is led by Rene Fortin Magana and has a constituency largely among middle-class professionals and intellectuals. Since the 1982 elections, in which the AD gained nearly 8 percent of the valid vote, the party has projected a more populist image and received an informal endorsement from a small labor union, FESTRAS. Fortin's running mate, Nelson Segovia, was at one time a member of the MNR, which is now part of the leftist guerrilla front. Although these new credentials might have made the AD more attractive than the PDC to some leftist voters during the 1984 presidential race, they also alienated many of the AD's former supporters among the middle and upper classes. [REDACTED]

Labor. Salvadoran labor, theoretically a strong source of support for the political center, traditionally has been weak and politically divided. At least 30 percent of the labor force of perhaps 2 million is unemployed, and the vast majority of those employed belong to no labor group. Prior to the passage of the new Constitution, only 71,000 employees, none in agriculture or

government, belonged to the 125 officially "registered" unions. A larger number of workers and campesinos—the US Embassy in October 1983 estimated as many as 200,000—belonged to or were influenced by various semilegal labor "associations." [REDACTED]

Personal and political rivalries, as well as persistent intimidation by ruling conservative governments, slowed the development of organized labor and inhibited it from political activities. Nevertheless, after the 1979 coup, the junta proclaimed "the right to unionize in all labor sectors." This encouraged pro-PDC labor activists to build a centrist coalition of unions, including campesinos, who comprise more than half the labor force. As a result, the Popular Democratic Union (UPD) was formed in September 1980, embracing industrial and campesino associations and, for a time, even a public employees' association. Samuel Maldonado, a key leader of the Salvadoran Communal Union, a campesino federation, became its most prominent spokesman. Jorge Camacho of the cooperatives' association, ACOPAI, also emerged as a strong leader and sometime rival of Maldonado. The US Embassy suggests that the formation of the UPD, by undercutting leftist labor support for the guerrillas, contributed significantly to the failure of their "final offensive" in January 1981. [REDACTED]

Following the March 1982 Constituent Assembly elections, the PDC-controlled Labor Ministry formed a labor reform commission that sought to achieve the right of campesinos and public employees to form registered unions. The new Constitution grants this right to campesinos and some public employees. This, in turn, bolsters the confidence of UPD leaders that they can function more openly and even campaign actively for political candidates. The PDC benefited greatly from their help in the March 1984 election and in return has promised the UPD several key posts in a PDC government. For the longer term, the UPD's greater visibility in the campaign may assist it in drawing additional workers and campesinos into its ranks, thereby increasing the organized strength of the center [REDACTED]

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The extreme left of the labor movement, nevertheless, recently made significant gains at the expense of the center. In late 1982, a loose association of three Marxist-led labor federations subordinate to the FMLN created MUSYGES, described by the Embassy as "a leftist attempt to involve non-Marxist labor unions more openly in politically related activities." The MUSYGES organizers persuaded six non-Marxist groups with a combined membership of perhaps 12,000 to join. They also nearly enticed the leadership of the several thousand strong Central Organization of Salvadoran Workers (CTS) into joining MUSYGES in a 1983 May Day demonstration. Although the CTS as a whole remains centrist, its present Secretary General, Miguel Angel Vasquez, appears to stand to the political left of the PDC and receptive to offers of cooperation from MUSYGES.

The Center Left

The Church.³ The mainstream church in El Salvador is in many respects inclined toward the political center by its traditional conservatism and by its aversion to the violence spawned by both left and right extremism in the country. Church reaction against officially sponsored brutalities occasionally made the hierarchy sympathetic to the insurgent cause, however, particularly when Archbishop Oscar Romero was the church spokesman. His successor, Arturo Rivera y Damas, has been generally evenhanded in criticizing sources of violence, and nearly every church statement touching on politics calls for a dialogue among contending parties.

At the same time, a vocal minority of activists in the church—those associated with "liberation theology"—openly sympathize with and in some cases actively support the guerrillas. A few priests have joined guerrilla factions as chaplains or propagandists or in some cases as combatants. Many church activists in human rights organizations are well to the left of center in their political orientation.

Jesuit intellectuals have provided philosophic underpinning for radical elements in the church. Working

³ There is no question that the church as a whole in El Salvador has distanced itself from the extreme left since the death of Archbishop Romero in March 1980. Some analysts within CIA would now classify the church as basically centrist, rather than center leftist as we do for this discussion.

at the University of Central America, which they founded in 1966, they have attempted to devise long-term goals for El Salvador. Their views, as expressed by the articulate and persuasive university rector, Ignacio Ellacuria, tend toward the radical formulas of the FMLN. Despite these extremist tendencies among the clergy, however, we believe the church as an institution has considerable potential to play a constructive role in El Salvador's crisis and would generally support an elected government committed to gradual reform.

The Extreme Left

The FMLN/FDR. FMLN/FDR leaders are ostensibly optimistic about their prospects. The FMLN claims that it has strengthened its overall military position relative to the government particularly in the eastern part of the country. It further alleges not only that the Salvadoran armed forces are increasingly in disarray, but that some Salvadoran commanders are willing to enter peace negotiations with its representatives. Publicly, FMLN propagandists speculate that the time is fast approaching when Washington will have to decide whether to commit US combat forces to El Salvador or see the regime fall.

Some of this exuberance may be feigned. The March 1982 Constituent Assembly election, with its large voter turnout, represented a considerable propaganda setback for the FMLN. The cumulative effects of successful presidential elections, a legislative body meeting regularly, and the rest of the government beginning to function reasonably well under a new Constitution could considerably damage the FMLN's morale. Though the top leadership of the five member groups is generally unified on basic aims and ideology, serious disagreements still occur at that level, especially over tactics and matters of authority.

In January 1984, the FMLN saw come and go the third anniversary of what was supposed to have been the "final offensive," but the FMLN leadership still appears confident of victory. If it were not, we believe it would offer a program more conciliatory to its opposition. Instead, the February 1984 FMLN-FDR

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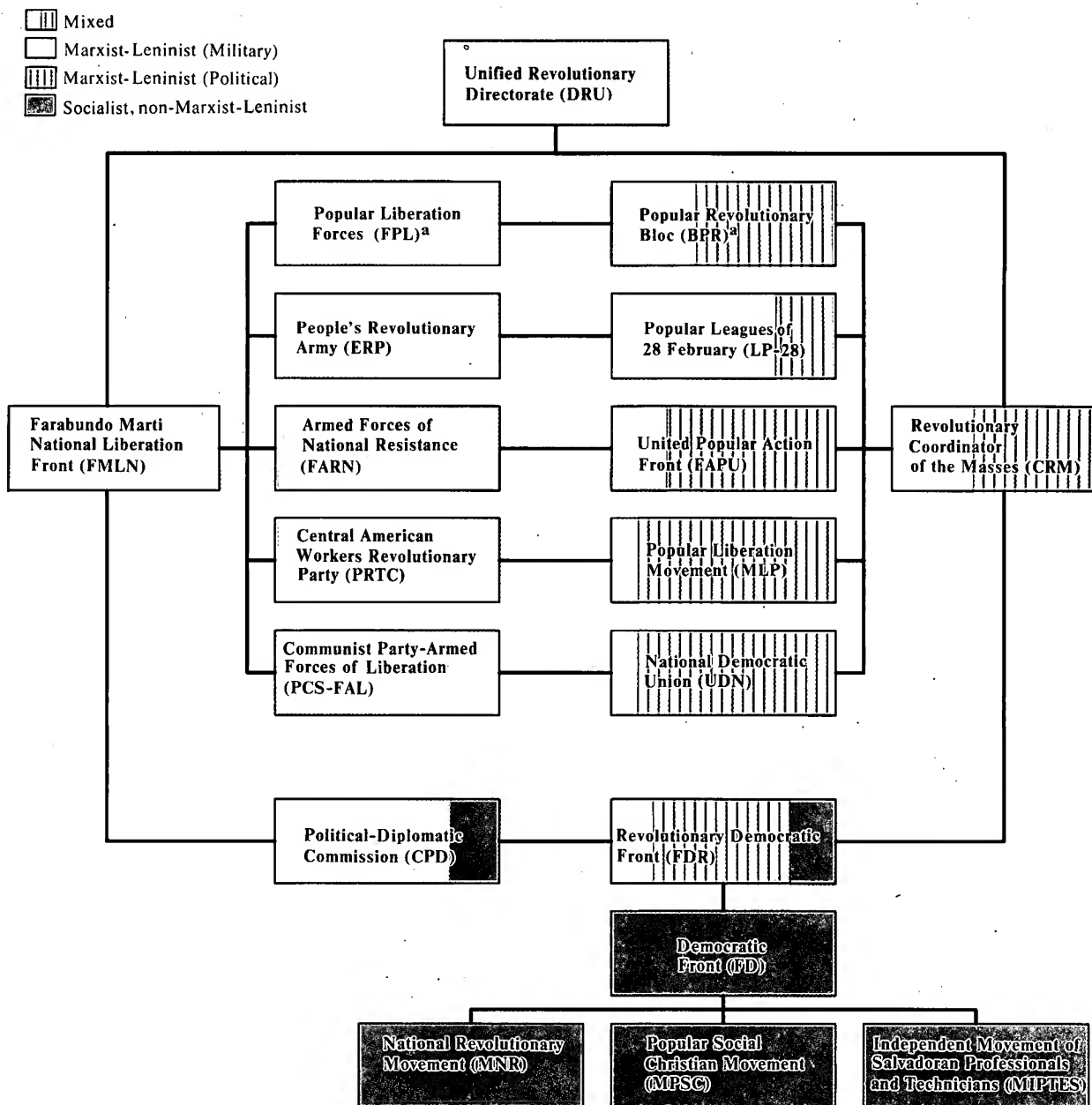
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Figure 3
El Salvador: Organization of the Insurgent Alliance



^a In December 1983 the Cayetano Carpio Revolutionary Workers Movement (MOR) broke away from the FPL and FMLN, carrying part of the BPR with it.

The Leftist Guerrillas

In December 1983 the heads of the five guerrilla groups constituting the FMLN publicly announced that the fusion of these groups into a single party would occur soon. Propagandists for the FMLN immediately hailed this development as akin to the unification of the three "tendencies" within the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front prior to the overthrow of Somoza in 1979. Some interpreted the Salvadoran guerrilla victories of 30 December 1983 and 1 January 1984 (overrunning the Salvadoran Army base at El Paraiso and destroying the Cuscatlan bridge) to mean that the FMLN's "victorious horizon" was within reach. [redacted]

Regardless of the military prospects, the forces tending to coalesce these groups are strong. [redacted]

[redacted] the Cubans have been pressing for it since the Sandinista victory. The DRU, which theoretically oversees the entire military-political alliance of which the FMLN comprises the military component, was founded in Havana in 1980. [redacted]

The second key factor has been the removal of a major obstacle to unification, Salvador Cayetano Carpio, the late commander in chief of the FPL group, who insisted on the FPL's and his own primacy. By early 1983, many of his FPL colleagues, led by the FPL second in command, Melida Anaya Montes,

had taken a position for unity and against Carpio. [redacted] he thereupon ordered the assassination of Montes in April 1983. When the assassins were arrested a few days later, Carpio allegedly committed suicide. [redacted]

The FPL then moved closer to the rest of the FMLN. In September 1983, Leonel Gonzalez and Dimas Rodriguez, both firmly pro-Cuban in our judgment, took the places of Carpio and Montes. In December, the FPL formally condemned Carpio. [redacted]

Yet, the spirit of Carpio has not been exorcised. In December, reacting to the FPL's condemnation of Carpio, a group calling itself the Cayetano Carpio Revolutionary Workers Movement (MOR) siphoned off a substantial portion of the FPL's strength, including the leadership of the leftist labor union, FSR. [redacted]

Even if this new fissure is closed, the potential for further internal wrangling is considerable. The squabbling ostensibly will address strategic issues concerning the conduct of the revolution, status and objectives of negotiation, and the like. But we believe the covert agenda—who is going to be in charge—will always be significant and occasionally the dominant issue over the near future. [redacted]

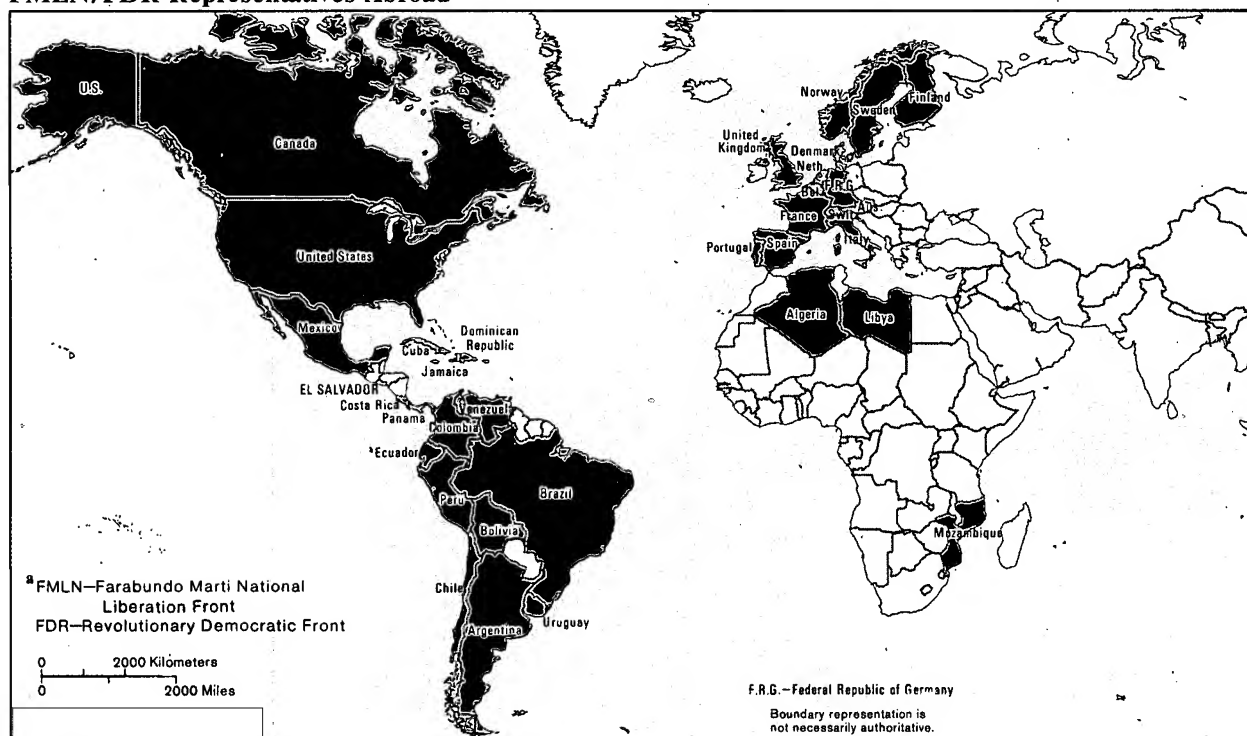
Declaration published in Mexico City is virtually a copy of that announced in 1981 and treats all political and economic changes made by the government since that time as useless:

- As in 1981 the FMLN/FDR seeks to establish a "broadbased" provisional government. To achieve this in 1984, however, the FMLN/FDR proposes to: abolish the 1983 Constitution; replace existing executive and legislative authorities with a "government junta, ministerial cabinet, (and) advisory state council"; and postpone the scheduled elections indefinitely.

- As in 1981 the FMLN/FDR would eliminate certain elements from this "broadbased" regime. These are now identified as the ARENA; the "security corps"; members of the armed forces, as well as civilians "responsible for genocide" and various "political crimes"; parts of the judiciary; the entire "oligarchy"; and "sectors and persons opposed to achieving the objectives of the provisional government."

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Figure 4
FMLN/FDR^a Representatives Abroad



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North America

Chief Representative
 Héctor Oqueli Colindres
 United States
 Washington, D.C.
 Alberto Arene
 Francisco Altschul
 New York City
 (Fr.) Rafael Moreno
 Canada
 Dina Mendoza

Western Europe

Chief Representative
 (Fr.) Luis de Sebastián
 Austria
 Francisco Herrera
 Belgium
 Roberto Castro
 Roberto Guillén
 Italy—unknown
 Iberian Peninsula (Spain & Portugal)
 Antonio Martínez Uribe
 Enrique Rubio

France

Roberto López
 César Martí
 Ruth Argandona
 Netherlands—unknown
 Scandinavia (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland)
 Gabriel Lara
 Switzerland
 Francisco Galindo Vélez
 United Kingdom
 Ana María Echeverría
 Federal Republic of Germany
 Luis Leandro Uzquiano

Mexico, Central America, and Caribbean

Chief Representative
 Guillermo Manuel Ungo
 Eduardo Calles
 Rubén Zamora
 Mexico
 Aronetta Díaz de Zamora
 José Salvador Arias Peñate
 Enrique Guatemala García

Mexico—continued

José Antonio Hernández
 Benito Tovar
 Cuba
 Norma Guevara
 Margarita González
 Andrés Martínez
 Silvia Martínez
 Jorge Rodríguez
 Pedro Fuentes
 Costa Rica
 Rolando Elías Julián Beloso
 Jorge Alberto Villacorta
 Carlos Alberto Molina
 Panama
 José Francisco Marroquín
 Alfredo del Tránsito Monge
 Jaime Suárez
 Dominican Republic and Jamaica
 Guido Vejar
 Eastern Caribbean
 Juan Ramón Cardona

South America

Chief Representative
 Fidelina Martínez
 Venezuela
 Calixto Zelaya
 Gerardo Godoy
 Brazil
 René Moreno
 Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay
 Francisco Díaz Rodríguez
 Colombia
 Carlos Calles

Africa

Chief Representative
 Marisol Galindo Toledo
 Libya
 Nelson Arrietta
 Algeria—unknown
 Mozambique—unknown

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- In 1981 the FMLN/FDR pledged that a new government would promote small- and medium-sized enterprises but would also seek "profound social reforms." In 1984 the FMLN/FDR promises a debt moratorium and unspecified financial assistance to help businesses and pledges a "massive literacy campaign." Its program, however, also gives more attention than previous FMLN/FDR statements to the need for economic restructuring. For example, the FMLN/FDR implicitly threatens to scrap the existing structures for agrarian reform and for nationalized sugar and coffee trade and banking and indicates that it would establish entirely new ones.
- In 1984, as in 1981, the FMLN/FDR proposes that the new government be "nonaligned" in foreign policy but pledges to "struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, Zionism, racial discrimination, and apartheid." [redacted]

We agree with the Embassy that in the February 1984 declaration the FMLN/FDR has provided no new basis for serious discussion with either its political opponents or neutrals. The FMLN's intransigence constitutes a rejection of the January 1984 public appeal by the Salvadoran Government Peace Commission to the FMLN/FDR to abandon the armed struggle and join the electoral process. [redacted]

This intransigence raises the question of whether the relative moderates within the FMLN/FDR coalition have any current role in decisionmaking. The Embassy believes that continuing tensions between soft and hard liners can provoke serious disputes within the coalition, but that on important policy decisions the disputants are likely to settle for the hardline position. This tendency may have been reflected not only in the formulation of the FMLN/FDR program, but also in the attempt to disrupt the March 1984 presidential elections despite an earlier pledge to the contrary by FDR spokesmen. As propagandists and front men for the guerrillas, the political moderates nevertheless are useful in advancing the notion that the leftist revolution is not just limited to hardcore Marxists. [redacted]

The Center Right

The Military High Command. Defense Minister Vides Casanova has tried hard to ensure the nonpartisanship of the military establishment. He even forbade active duty military personnel from voting in the

March 1984 presidential elections, although the new Constitution permits it. He also succeeded, for the most part, in curbing the tendencies of officers with extreme rightwing sympathies to interfere in the March 1984 campaign. The results suggest that the few incidents of this kind were counterproductive for the rightists themselves. [redacted]

The military establishment as a whole, however, continues to enjoy a specially privileged status within Salvadoran society. It is still largely true that active (and retired) military personnel, regardless of rank, expect to enjoy virtual immunity from civil or criminal prosecution. The case of Capt. Eduardo Avila, implicated in the 1981 assassination of two US labor officials and a Salvadoran labor leader, is illustrative.

[redacted] the decisions to arrest and detain Avila caused heated debates involving the Defense Minister and a large group of senior commanders. (He has since been released.) In other cases involving officers implicated in rights violations, Vides has been willing to transfer the officer involved but not to subject him to criminal prosecution. Clearly Vides is concerned about the impact of legal penalties on the morale of the officer corps. [redacted]

The military's political orientation remains, as the Embassy has described, "quintessentially conservative"; yet, the armed forces leadership as a whole also has distanced itself from the extreme right. In addition to supporting Magana for President in 1982, it has since intervened to save Phase III of the land reform by restoring illegally evicted campesinos; indeed, Col. Galileo Torres, the head of the Phase III administrative agency, FINATA, has endured rightist death threats and the opprobrium of extreme rightist officers for vigorously defending campesino rights. Moreover, there are indications that new Chief of Staff Col. Adolfo Blandon, an erstwhile ARENA supporter, now opposes ARENA's leader, D'Aubuisson. The rest of the General Staff appears to share his present center-rightist orientation. In addition, after a few false starts and much encouragement by Washington, Vides has appointed a credible unit to investigate human rights abuses in the military. One noteworthy source of moral support for the unit's efforts is

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the Armed Forces' official spokesman, Lt. Col. Ricardo Cienfuegos, whose vigorous public attack on rightist death squad activities in late 1983 earned him death threats. [REDACTED]

PCN and PAISA. Were an opinion survey conducted among the officer corps, we strongly suspect it would show an overwhelming majority favoring either the traditional "officialist" PCN, whose presidential candidate is Francisco "Chachi" Guerrero, or its splinter group that appeared after the 1982 Assembly elections, the Salvadoran Authentic Institutional Party (PAISA), led by retired Col. Roberto Escobar Garcia. [REDACTED]

Since the split, both PAISA and the PCN have shown considerable political flexibility. As the new Constitution entered into force, PAISA broke with the ARENA-led rightist coalition to cut a deal with the PDC, allowing the two to gain control of the National (that is, the post-Constituent) Assembly.⁴ During the presidential campaign, however, the PCN distanced itself from ARENA—largely because of the unsavory reputation of the ARENA presidential candidate, Roberto D'Aubuisson— [REDACTED]

The PCN now appears to have better long-term prospects than PAISA. PAISA's only real strength relative to the PCN is that the party does not bear a name that conjures up an image of corruption and vote fraud. The election results proved, however, that the PCN has a stronger organizational structure at the grassroots, which puts it in a better position to bargain with other parties. [REDACTED]

The Extreme Right

We have grouped at the right end of the political spectrum the private-sector group ANEP, four political parties, the death squads, and several extreme rightist officers in the security forces. The extreme right in this sense is not nearly as unified through formal political structures as its opposite counterpart

⁴ In the March 1982 Constituent Assembly elections, the PCN obtained 14 seats and 19 percent of the valid vote; as a result of the split, nine of the 14 joined PAISA. [REDACTED]

on the left. On the other hand, the role of personal (especially family) connections is of far greater consequence politically than in any other grouping along that spectrum. And, unlike the other groups, the extreme right has in D'Aubuisson a single dominant personality clearly recognized by all members of the extreme right. [REDACTED]

The Private Sector. Much has been written about the level of power and control over national affairs exercised by a tight network of families. *Los catorce* (the 14) is the journalistic euphemism referring to the key families, but more than 50 families form the top of the economic and social pyramid. These families maintain collective influence through intermarriage—the Regalado-Duenas connection, for example, has resulted in a family with controlling interest in 40 different firms—as well as through a general policy of not selling shares to "outsiders." They exert their political power primarily through membership in ANEP, the umbrella organization that coordinates activities of more than two dozen private-sector associations representing various economic segments, including most of the media. ANEP is led by Conrado Lopez Andreu and as a group strongly supports ARENA's political goals. [REDACTED]

There are exceptions to this ARENA/ANEP pattern of wealth mobilized behind rightist political extremism. Not all affluent businessmen are from the key families. Many of these belong to CONAES, which is much smaller and far less influential than ANEP. CONAES politically supports the Christian Democrats. Moreover, not all members of key families support the politics of the extreme right. President Magana, for example, has been an articulate critic of the death squads, while his cousin heads the centrist AD party. The president of the guerrillas' political wing (FDR), Francisco Alvarez, murdered by a rightist death squad in November 1980, was heir to one of the largest coffee fortunes in Central America and a member of one of the country's oldest aristocratic families. [REDACTED]

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Roberto D'Aubuisson [redacted] Sygma ©

In addition, the polarized politics of El Salvador have created animosities within the leading families. The Embassy has speculated that one reason for ANEP leader Andreu's vigorous support of ARENA is his desire to compensate for the fact that his brother-in-law is Guillermo Ungo of the FDR. A few guerrilla leaders bear distinguished pedigrees. An FMLN combat brigade is named for a guerrilla from the wealthy, politically rightist Zablah family. [redacted]

ARENA. Aside from ARENA, extreme rightists have relatively few political options. In addition to the Salvadoran Popular Party (PPS), whose presidential candidate is from the Quinonez family and the Popular Orientation Party (POP), founded by former National Guard Commander Jose Medrano, there is an equally small party, misleadingly named the Stable Centrist Republican Movement (MERCEN). MERCEN's presidential candidate, Juan Ramon Rosales y Rosales, was the defense lawyer for a wealthy businessman who, according to Embassy records, probably was involved in the 1981 Sheraton murders of two US labor leaders and a Salvadoran unionist. In our judgment, MERCEN is simply a device for enticing centrists to support the extreme right. [redacted]

ARENA reflects the personality of its presidential candidate more closely than any other party. Its

supporters rally to his three basic exhortations:

- Defeat the Communists and their sympathizers by fair means or foul.
- Treat the Christian Democrats as if they were the de facto allies of the Communists.
- Restore El Salvador to the days before the 1979 officers' coup.

There may be some ARENA stalwarts who shrink from some of the operative conclusions implicit in these messages—for example, death squad actions targeted against even Christian Democrats—but they remain in the party. D'Aubuisson's involvement in rightwing terrorist activities has been alleged [redacted]

[redacted] since the late 1970s. [redacted]

We note in our separate profile of D'Aubuisson that he retains important contacts in the military establishment. We believe, nevertheless, that the recent transfers of the intelligence chiefs of the National Police and Treasury Police, and Hector Regalado's removal from the post of security chief for the Assembly, may have temporarily weakened D'Aubuisson's ability to employ active duty military and other government assets on behalf of ARENA. [redacted]

Outlook and Implications for the United States

For the near term at least, most of the groups and individuals we have discussed are likely to remain about where they are now on the political spectrum. Moreover, whether positively or negatively, they will regard the US role in determining their country's political future as crucial. [redacted]

We believe that the extreme left and right are likely to continue displaying qualities of cohesion and determination not as evident elsewhere along the political spectrum. Faultlines within the leftist coalition presided over by the FMLN seem unlikely to induce the leadership to moderate its conditions to end the conflict. Meanwhile, FMLN propaganda is beginning

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D'Aubuisson: The Strongest Man in El Salvador?

Roberto D'Aubuisson Arrieta probably has better political connections than any Salvadoran. His close ties to the military establishment give him automatic political clout. Specifically, D'Aubuisson can count on loyalty from his military class or *tanda*. Among the 19 members of his *tanda* are several lieutenant colonels holding important commands in the armed forces. D'Aubuisson also has acquired a network of military colleagues from other *tandas* and from encounters during his stints in military intelligence. In addition, he has acquired a reputation among officers as one who took a brave stand in fighting "subversives" and, thereby, suffered unfairly in being compelled to resign his commission after the October 1979 officers' coup. [REDACTED]

D'Aubuisson gains several benefits from this military constituency. At a minimum his warm welcome when he visits old colleagues allows D'Aubuisson to acquire an implicit political endorsement for himself and ARENA. Some officers (such as Lt. Col. Adalberto Cruz Reyes, commander of Morazan Department) have been willing to use their authority to help ARENA's campaign, despite prohibitions on such partisan activity. A few, in our judgment, are willing to assist in ARENA-sponsored paramilitary operations and are well placed to do so. [REDACTED]

Secondly, as a civilian D'Aubuisson has acquired the trappings of a highly influential politician. He has retained access to wealthy Salvadorans at home and in exile, partly through kinship (with the Duenas family) and partly through the friendships that rightwing officers in El Salvador form easily. During his stay in Guatemala in 1980, D'Aubuisson won support from other Salvadorans there and as well as from like-minded Guatemalans, particularly Mario Sandoval Alarcon, head of the rightist National Liberation Movement (MLN). [REDACTED]

D'Aubuisson also prides himself on his ties to the "gringos." Underlying his long association with US institutions (courses at US police academies and a brief tour with the Green Berets in Panama in the early 1970s) and his dealings with US officials, appears to be an unrealistic sense of confidence that among the sectors of US opinion that "count" he can win friends, bully enemies, and manipulate neutrals. [REDACTED]

Moreover, his campaign as ARENA leader for the March 1982 Constituent Assembly elections enhanced his image as a "macho" politician. His personal appearance—the trim figure with the gold jewelry and the Ferrari sunglasses, frequently packing a pistol, speaking in clipped, staccato sentences—tended to make his opponents by contrast look flaccid. He showed physical courage in campaigning throughout the countryside and appealed to the religious instincts of many Salvadorans by attending religious services and using a cross in ARENA's party symbol. His economic promises were vague, but eloquently delivered. All of this contributed significantly to ARENA's success in March 1982 (almost 30 percent of the valid ballots cast). D'Aubuisson nearly won the presidency of the country, and settled for the presidency of the Constituent Assembly. [REDACTED]

After assuming that post, however, his "image" became somewhat tarnished. Of major importance, his own widely perceived role as a coordinator of rightwing death squad activity, and the role of Hector Antonio Regalado, ARENA's chief of security and D'Aubuisson's appointee as chief of security for the Constituent Assembly in carrying out such activity, became subjects for public discussion. Moreover, the denial of a US visa twice in recent months conveyed to many in El Salvador the suggestion that D'Aubuisson may no longer be as able as he once was to manipulate the "gringos." For a leader so dependent on "image," that perception itself is damaging. The PDC and PCN candidates said as much during the 1984 presidential campaign. This made some erstwhile supporters and collaborators look for a more respectable alternative and kept ARENA from improving on its 1982 performance. [REDACTED]

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to claim that a de facto government under its control—the term being used is Local People's Power—already exists in portions of El Salvador. Some extreme-right elements mirror the determination of the left. They believe they have everything to lose if the left wins. They increasingly resent US “interference” with their efforts to wage an all-out struggle with the left and those who would accommodate it. [redacted]

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The potential for political movement in the wake of the presidential campaign—new fissures and alliances—appears greatest on both the center right and the center left. We believe the cohesion of the military establishment will be strained no matter what the outcome of the presidential contest; many officers privately have expressed deep concern about the consequences of a PDC victory for the country's ability to wage war against the guerrillas and for their own careers, while others are strongly opposed to any outcome—for example, a D'Aubuisson victory—that would jeopardize US aid. Choosing between Duarte and D'Aubuisson in the runoff election will strain severely the cohesion of the PCN. The church, meantime, is subject to forces that could pull it either closer to the center or further leftward. [redacted]

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We believe the groups in the center will continue to place greatest reliance on US moral and material support. Perhaps the most positive development in this part of the spectrum for at least the near term is the new assertiveness of centrist labor leaders such as Samuel Maldonado of UPD. Their clout within El Salvador can be strengthened through greater international visibility—for example, through additional exposure to US and European politicians and the media. In any society subject to prolonged political crisis, especially one magnified by a drained economy, centrist groups can become easily discouraged. Almost by definition they function only as well as “the system” functions, whereas during a crisis the extremists, who know they want to change the system radically and have decided how, are apt to be confident. Nevertheless, through more than four years of assaults from both the left and the right the centrists have expanded their ground. [redacted]

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Appendix A

**Politically Significant
Organizations**

Acronym	Title and Leaders	Comments
ACOPAI	Association of Cooperatives of Integrated Agricultural Livestock Products Jorge Ruiz Camacho (secretary general) ^a Marcus Salazar Mario Espinoza Fermin Garcia	More than 17,000 members and about 25 cooperatives. Represents members of cooperatives and those involved in technical assistance to cooperatives. A member of UPD. Centrist; generally supports PDC, but leader suspected of rightwing sympathies.
AD	Democratic Action Rene Fortin Magana (secretary general) ^a Dr. Luis Nelson Segovia Ricardo Gonzalez Camacho	Won two assembly seats in the March 1982 elections and about 7-percent of valid votes cast. Strongest in San Salvador. Promises to provide adherents "with the professional legal advice which they deserve." Basically centrist.
AGEUS	General Association of Salvadoran University Students Oscar Rodriguez	Student organization of UES. Came under control of BPR in 1979 when that organization's student group, UR-19, won AGEUS's top positions in an uncontested election. Joined FDR when it formed in April 1980. Relatively inactive since the closure of UES in June 1980, but is prepared to resume activities if UES is reopened.
ANDES	National Association of Salvadoran Teachers Julio Portillo (secretary general)	Leftist teachers' union founded in 1965; member organization of BPR; Melida Anaya Montes, former FPL deputy head murdered in April 1983 in a factional dispute, was a founder and past Secretary General of the organization. Democratic elements split off in 1976.
ANEP	National Association of Private Enterprise Conrado Lopez Andreu (president) ^a Miguel Angel Salaverria Eduardo Funes Hartmann Jose Ifantozzi Juan Vicente Maldonado Roberto Aguilar Papini	Formed in 1967 as a fraternal association of businessmen, rather than a business organization. Publicly committed to strengthening free enterprise, determining priorities for national investment and integration of foreign capital, and preserving integrity of private sector. In fact, it serves the interests of the 50 or so key families in El Salvador. Composed of 32 member groups run by these families controlling all key sectors of the business community. A seven-member Joint Directory constitutes the ruling body. Rightist.
ANIS	National Association of Salvadoran Indians Adrian Esquino Lizco (secretary general) Refugio Sanchez	Association of native Indian communal farms. About 1,800 members. Loosely affiliated with UCS. Several members of Las Hojas farm killed by security forces in February 1983. Centrist.
ARENA	National Republican Alliance Roberto D'Aubuisson (president) ^a Armando Calderon Sol (secretary general) Hugo Barrera ^a Hector Regalado Cuellar Jose Antonio Rodriguez Porth ^a Mario Redaelli ^a	Officially inaugurated in September 1981 with help of ultra-rightist National Liberation Movement party of Guatemala. Pledged to "save" El Salvador from Communism; equates PDC with pro-Marxist forces. Supported by wealthy Salvadorans who oppose land reform, by portions of military establishment who oppose negotiations with guerrillas, and by exmembers of rural vigilante force ORDEN. Gained 29 percent of valid vote in March 1982 elections. Sponsors rightwing death squads, including the ESA and probably the Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez Brigade.

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Politically Significant Organizations (continued)

Acronym	Title and Leaders	Comments
ASI	Association of Industrial Sectors Eduardo Menendez (president)	This industrialists' association joined AP when AP was formed in 1980. Opposed labor reforms of Duarte government and criticized Duarte government for seeking a "socialistic, coercive, and collectivist system." Clearly rightist.
BPR	People's Revolutionary Bloc Julio Flores (secretary general) ^a Marco Antonio Portillo Francisco Rebollo Estrada	Militant front organization of the FPL founded in 1975. Comprised of intellectuals, teachers, students, peasants, and workers. Attained a membership of 50,000 to 70,000 and conducted demonstrations, occupied government buildings and foreign embassies, and promoted labor unrest. Since 1980 security constraints have greatly reduced its strength. Many members have joined guerrillas and pulled back to safehaven areas to do mass organization work.
CAS	Salvadoran Anticommunist Command No leader currently identified, but possibly D'Aubuisson.	Name used by a rightwing paramilitary group. In January 1984 publicly attacked the Defense Ministry for its efforts to curb human rights abuses by security forces. Probably linked to ARENA.
CCE	Central Electoral Council Armando Rodriguez Equizabal (president) Roberto Meza Delgado Eliseo Rovira Mixco Jorge Hernandez Jaime Trabanino Llovel Enrique Hayem Moreno	Runs elections in El Salvador. As a precondition for participating in the March 1982 elections, rightist political leaders insisted that PDC members be removed from CCE. At a November 1981 meeting of the Political Forum, a conference composed of the six legal parties contested the election. ARENA, supported by PCN, PPS, and the normally centrist AD, succeeded in ousting the PDC members. Only POP sided with the PDC. CCE among many others surprised by large voter turnout in March 1982. In December 1982 the Constituent Assembly elected a new CCE with the PDC represented by Roberto Meza Delgado. CCE had trouble developing registration procedures for the March 1984 presidential elections.
CCIES	Chamber of Commerce and Industry of El Salvador Conrado Lopez Andreu (president) ^a Jose Antonio Rodriguez Porth ^a Roberto Siman	An important component from the business-sector ANEP member groups. Its leader serves as President of ANEP. Very rightist and supportive of ARENA. In October 1982, when the US Ambassador publicly denounced rightist violence in El Salvador, CCIES in the local press denounced the Ambassador's "interference in Salvadoran internal affairs." CCIES has publicly attacked PDC leader Duarte on many issues.
CCS	Trade Union Coordinating Committee Eugenio Leon (secretary general)	BPR labor organization without legal recognition. Involved in violent activities. Has taken over government buildings and factories and has held hostages, including US citizens.
CDHES	Human Rights Commission Pedro Ramos Saul Valentin Villalta ^a Fernando Justo Mendez	Nongovernmental Established about 1978 and membership has included center leftists and extreme leftists. Its documentation on human rights abuses is suspect, and members engage in propaganda favoring the guerrilla alliance. Most members reside abroad. No connection with governmental CDHES.
	Human Rights Commission Col. Carlos Reynaldo Lopez Nuila ^a Monsignor Frederico ("Fredy") Delgado ^a Mario Luis Velasco Cristobal Aleman Benjamin Cestoni	Governmental Established in December 1982 by President Magana to recommend procedures for curbing human rights abuses. No connection with nongovernmental CDHES.

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**Politically Significant
Organizations (continued)**

Acronym	Title and Leaders	Comments
CEES (or CEDES)	Episcopal Conference of El Salvador Bishop Marco Antonio Revelo (president) ^a Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas (vice president) ^a Rev. Leopoldo Barreiro Gomez (secretary general)	Composed of the Catholic bishops of El Salvador. As such it is a component of the Central American Episcopal Conference (SEDAC), which forms part of the Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM). Periodically issues frank comments on political and economic problems in El Salvador. Kept to the right of the orientation of religious orders such as the Jesuits, mainly through efforts of its former long-time secretary, Monsignor Delgado. The dominant political views since Delgado's departure are unclear.
CGS	General Confederation of Trade Unions Anibal Somoza (secretary general)	Trade union confederation founded in 1958. Membership—mainly seamen and textile, construction, food, and restaurant workers—has fallen from nearly 10,000 to less than 6,000 in last four years. Joined MUSYGES but may leave it soon. Centrist, but Secretary General has joined National Council of center-right party, PAISA.
CGT	General Confederation of Workers Jose Luis Grande Preza (secretary general)	Confederation of five unions, with combined membership of less than 4,000, involved in municipal, commercial, and agricultural activities. Formed in March 1983 as a split from the CTS by the loser in a CTS election. Supported by PDC, and seeking to join UPD.
Comite de Madres	Committee of Mothers (short title) Domitila Juarez Teresa Ayala Vilma Sanchez Graciela Payes Maritza Ruiz	Human rights group formed in 1977 under the protection of the Archbishop of San Salvador and generally leftist in orientation. In January 1984, Archbishop Rivera y Damas expelled it and the nongovernmental CDHES from their offices in the Archbishopric's building. Demands a negotiated (power sharing) end to the war, full investigation into the fate of missing persons, freeing of all political prisoners, and "justice" for those assassinated.
CNT	National Confederation of Workers Gerardo Lopez Alas	Formed in August 1982 as labor front for ARENA. Two member unions—for construction and housing administration workers—with a combined membership of perhaps 1,000. Its first chief was expelled in 1981 from CGS and murdered in December 1983. Rightist.
CONAES	National Council of Salvadoran Businesses Julio Rivas Gallont ^a Atilio Vieytes	A pro-PDC counterweight to ANEP. Formed in October 1982. Headed by brother of Salvadoran Ambassador to the United States. Views ANEP as representing the reactionary leftovers from the old-line hierarchy but is smaller numerically than ANEP, weaker financially, and less influential in Salvadoran politics and internationally.
CONIP	National Conference of the Popular Church Rev. Placido Erdozain (member coordinating board) Rev. Rogelio Poncel Rev. Rutilio Sanchez	A religiously oriented coalition of 12 groups. Issued a statement in January 1981, just prior to the FMLN's "final offensive," urging that Christians acknowledge the "justice" of the guerrillas' cause and "the legitimate right which moves them to insurrection." The groups identified themselves as: Archdiocesan Caritas; a committee from the Health Ministry; the Conference of Men and Women Religious of El Salvador; the Federation of Centers of Catholic Education; the Archdiocesan Pastoral Council; the National Commission of Justice, Peace, Faith, and Joy; Christian Life Communities; the Foundation of Promoters of Cooperatives; the Federation of Cooperative Association of Agriculture/Livestock Production; the Baptist Assembly; the Christian Student Movement.

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Politically Significant Organizations (continued)

Acronym	Title and Leaders	Comments
COPREFA	Press Committee of the Armed Forces Lt. Col. Ricardo Cienfuegos	Issues official statements on behalf of the armed forces. Inhibited from objective news reporting. For example, after denouncing rightwing death squads last year, the COPREFA chief was threatened by a death squad. Minister of Defense Vides Casanova apparently wishes COPREFA to play down stories that hurt the image of the military establishment.
CPD	Political-Diplomatic Commission Fabio Castillo Figueroa ^a Ana Guadalupe Martinez ^a Jose Napoleon Rodriguez Ruiz ^a Ruben Zamora ^a Salvador Samayoa ^a Mario Aguinada Carranza ^a Guillermo Manuel Ungo ^a	Primary diplomatic organization of insurgent alliance. Seven-member executive directorate has two representatives from FDR and one from each of the guerrilla groups. Founded in January 1981. In theory all seven share equal billing as spokesmen; in fact Aguinada seems currently in charge.
CRM	Revolutionary Coordinator of the Masses Jose Leoncio Pichinte ^a Marco Antonio Portillo ^a Saul Valentin Villalta ^a Mario Aguinada Carranza ^a	Coalition of Marxist-Leninist front organizations, composed of BPR, LP-28, FAPU, MLP, and UDN. Established in January 1980. Largely moribund since early 1981, as many front group members have been integrated into parent armed wings. Probably still useful in transmitting DRU directives to noncombatant supporters.
CTS	Central Organization of Salvadoran Workers Miguel Angel Vazquez (secretary general) Juan Aristedes Escobar	Perhaps 9,000 workers in Ministries of Agriculture and Public Works and tourism and teachers and other professionals. Members of UPD. Centrist; generally supports PDC, but with some leftist sympathies.
DNI	National Directorate of Intelligence Col. Jesus Gabriel Contreras	In December 1983 the National Intelligence Agency (ANI) was upgraded to directorate status. Its chief was scheduled to become a member to allow him to flesh out the DNI and give it more control over other military intelligence components. He also was slated to have more authority to investigate human rights abuses by members of the security forces. Not clear that all these mandates are firm—to date he has not been added to the EMC—and in any case the present DNI director was Defense Ministry coordinator of ORDEN in the late 1970s, when ORDEN was the source of many such abuses.
DRU	Unified Revolutionary Directorate Joaquin Villalobos ^a Jorge Antonio Melendez ^a Juan Ramon Medrano ^a Leonel Gonzalez ^a Dimas Rodriguez ^a Ferman Cienfuegos ^a Eduardo Solorzano ^a Roberto Roca ^a Jose Venancio Salvatierra ^a Shafik Jorge Handal ^a Mario Aguinada Carranza ^a	Executive body of the insurgency made up of three leaders from each of the five main guerrilla groups: FPL, FARN, FAL, ERP, and FARLP. Established in Havana in May 1980.
EM	Death Squadron No current leader identified	Not clear whether this is a group or a generic name used for certain death squad actions that occurred, particularly in western El Salvador. ESA claimed in June 1980 that EM had been absorbed by ESA.

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**Politically Significant
Organizations (continued)**

Acronym	Title and Leaders	Comments
EMC	<p>Joint General Staff</p> <p>Col. Adolfo Blandon (Chief of Staff)^a Lt. Col. Galileo Conde Vasquez (D-I, personnel) Lt. Col. Gilberto Rubio (D-II, intelligence) Col. Miguel Antonio Mendez (D-III, operations) Col. Carlos Angel Aviles (D-IV, logistics) Col. Ramon Morales Ruiz (D-V, civil affairs)</p>	<p>Often referred to simply as the General Staff (Estado Mayor). As of January 1984, there were plans to add another officer to handle special counterintelligence responsibilities. EMC should be distinguished from the loose term "high command" which refers to the top six or so officers, including the Chief of Staff but not his deputies. Political complexion of EMC is center rightist; Blandon appears opposed to D'Aubuisson and Duarte. By extension the dominant views of EMC probably reflect the prevailing consensus within the military establishment.</p>
ERP	<p>People's Revolutionary Army</p> <p>Joaquin Villalobos (commander in chief)^a Claudio Rabindranath Armijo^a Juan Ramon Medrano^a Ana Guadalupe Martinez^a Jorge Antonio Melendez^a Ana Mercedes del Carmen Letona^a Ana Sonia Medina Arriola^a</p>	<p>Established in 1972 and operated initially as an anarchist-terrorist group. Member of the FMLN. Fastest growing and most aggressive of the rural guerrilla organizations. Has strength of 3,000 to 3,500.</p>
ESA	<p>Secret Anticommunist Army</p> <p>"Aguiles Baires" "Adolfo Torres" "Jorge Palomo"</p>	<p>Long the name of a Guatemalan rightwing terrorist group, ESA was formed in June 1980 in El Salvador by D'Aubuisson and others. Combined several rightwing groups: UGB, ORDEN (officially abolished in 1979); Mano Blanca; EM; OLC; Salvadoran Anticommunist Brigade; and two transnational groups, the Legion del Caribe and FALCA. Claimed credit in 1983 for several attacks on suspected leftist activists. Linked to ARENA's security force.</p>
FAL	<p>Armed Forces of Liberation</p> <p>Shafik Jorge Handal (commander in chief)^a Julio Cesar Castro (secretary general, Modes-to Ramirez Front)</p>	<p>Military arm of PCES established after 1979 party decision to enter insurgency. Member of the FMLN. Has strength of 1,160 to 1,325.</p>
FAPU	<p>United Popular Action Front</p> <p>Saul Valentin Villalta^a Mario Ernesto Cabrera Jose Napoleon Rodriguez Ruiz^a</p>	<p>Created in 1974. Subsequently became front group for FARN. Comprised of student, church, labor, and peasant organizations. Staged demonstrations and occupied churches and public buildings. Had membership of 12,000 to 20,000 before 1980. Since then, many members have joined guerrilla ranks; organization further diminished by security constraints, defections, and casualties of political violence.</p>
FARLP	<p>Popular Liberation Revolutionary Armed Forces</p> <p>Roberto Roca (commander in chief)^a Jose Venancio Salvatierra^a Miguel Mendoza Jose Trinidad Nidia Diaz Pablo Uribe^a "Camilo Torres" Rogelio Martinez Juan Jose Obregon</p>	<p>Military arm of the Salvadoran branch of the PRTC, which was founded in 1976. Began using current title in early 1983. Has strength of 700 to 850. Member organization of FMLN.</p>

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Politically Significant Organizations (continued)

Acronym	Title and Leaders	Comments
FARN	Armed Forces of National Resistance Eduardo Sancho Castaneda (also known as Ferman Cienfuegos) ^a Eduardo Solorzano ^a Raul Hercules ^a Misael Gallardo Chano Guevara	Broke away from ERP in 1975. Perhaps the least doctrinaire of FMLN groups. Has strength of 1,400 to 1,500.
FDR	Revolutionary Democratic Front Guillermo Ungo (president) ^a Eduardo Calles (vice president) ^a Ruben Zamora ^a Luis de Sebastian ^a	Serves overseas as the principal diplomatic and overt political organization of the insurgent alliance. Charged with propaganda and fundraising. Makes no major policy decision without approval of the DRU. Formed in April 1980.
FECCAS	Federation of Salvadoran Christian Peasants Jorge Alberto Acosta Bernabe Antonio Garcia Imelda Lopez Ricardo Hernandez	BPR peasant organization. Had reputation as strongest and most militant peasant organization in country. Among opposition activities, involved in occupation of churches. Along with UTC, its membership numbered about 7,000. Since 1980 most members have become FMLN combatants.
FENASTRAS	Salvadoran Workers' National Union Federation Fidel Alberto Palacios Mario Cabrera Bernabe Recinos (secretary general) Ernesto Flores (acting secretary general) Carlos Ernesto Vasquez Someta	More than 12,000 members, mainly fishermen, coffee and textile workers, and campesinos. Originally part of the centrist CGS, but has shifted leftward. Most of its members now support FARN; the organization is part of the FARN front group, FAPU. Leadership strongly leftist, but rank and file have centrist tendencies. Secretary General is in jail.
FESACORA	Federation of Salvadoran Agrarian Reform Cooperatives Luis Felipe Aguilar (president)	Formed in 1982 as a result of Phase I of agrarian reform enacted in 1980. Over 150,000 members. Strongly influenced by UCS. Centrist. Leadership has distrusted UPD leaders and therefore hesitated to join UPD.
FESIN-CONSTRANS	Trade Union Federation of Construction, Transportation, and Related Industries Juan Antonio Argueta Salvador Carazo (secretary general) Tito Castro (adviser)	Over 22,000 workers, nearly all in construction. Once part of CGS, now in UPD. Centrist; supports PDC.
FESTIAVTSCES	Salvadoran National Trade Union Federation of Workers of the Food, Clothing, Textile, and Related Industries Faustino Murcia Arifa	About 2,250 textile workers in these 11 unions. Founded in 1968. Mainly subordinate to the PCES. Part of the Committee of Union Unity (CUS) and of MUSYGES. Clearly leftist.
FESTRAS	Trade Union Federation of Salvadoran Workers Rigoberto Menendez (secretary general)	About 1,000 members, mainly workers in cement production. No governmental recognition or international affiliation. Shows both centrist and leftist sympathies. Helped bring CGS into MUSYGES, but, like CGS, may leave MUSYGES. Supports AD.

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**Politically Significant
Organizations (continued)**

Acronym	Title and Leaders	Comments
FINATA	National Financiers of Agricultural Lands Col. Galileo Torres (president)	Created in 1980, as a result of Phase III (Decree 207—the “land to the tiller program”) of the agrarian reform, to process applications for titles from tenants. Potentially more than 100,000 beneficiaries. Through political and military efforts, evicted land claimants had been put back and new beneficiaries signed up. Centrist; a thorn in the side to ARENA-led efforts to undermine agrarian reform. FINATA chief has endured death threats from rightists and the opprobrium of many military colleagues.
FMLN	Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front Joaquin Villalobos ^a Jorge Shafik Handal ^a Ferman Cienfuegos ^a Roberto Roca ^a Leonel Gonzalez ^a	Marxist-Leninist front established in November 1980. Umbrella organization that directs military and political resistance against government. Member organizations are ERP, FPL, FARN, FAL, and FARLP and their associated party and front groups. Military strength is 9,000 to 11,000.
FPL	Popular Liberation Forces Leonel Gonzalez (commander in chief) ^a Dimas Rodriguez (deputy commander) ^a Salvador Guerra ^a Ricardo Gutierrez Milton (or Guillermo) Mendez Salvador Samayoa (member, CPD)	Founded in 1970 as a radical splinter of the orthodox PCES and is the oldest of El Salvador's insurgent groups. Evolved from its origins as an urban terrorist group to a predominately rural guerrilla movement. Was largest and most prestigious insurgent organization until factional disputes beginning in 1982 caused a split in the group in September 1983. Member of FMLN, had 2,800 to 3,500 troops before that rupture. Also called Popular Liberation Armed Forces (FAPL).
FSR	Revolutionary Trade Union Federation Jose Jeremias Pereira Amaya (secretary general) Gerardo Anaya	A radical leftist labor union created in January 1980 by FPL's front group, BPR, with some assistance from FARN. Claimed strength of almost 5,000, and members said to be textile, metal, and coffee workers. Now aligned with FPL breakaway organization, MOR.
FUSADES	Salvadoran Foundation for Economic and Social Development Roberto Murray Meza (president) Mario Cantizano	Composed of a number of private-sector leaders, mostly wealthy. Provides technical advice and other services to its members particularly on matters related to Caribbean Basin Initiative. Centrist compared to ANEP, which would like to influence and control it. Denied membership to prominent ARENA leader Hugo Barrera because he was considered “too political.” President of FUSADES criticized ANEP for not denouncing more strongly the death squads.
FUSS	Unions Single Federation of Salvadoran Trade Maria Lopez Castro Jorge Mendoza Santos Cristina Marin	About 4,000 members: fishermen, metalworkers, electricians, entertainers. Part of the FARN front group, FAPU, but also influenced by the PCES.
GN	National Guard Col. Napoleon Aristedes Montes (director) ^a Capt. Ricardo Arango Macay (chief of intelligence)	Formed in 1912 as a rural constabulary. About 4,200 strong, with companies assigned to each department. More vulnerable to leftist guerrilla attacks because of the disposition of its forces than other components of the security forces; more deeply involved in sponsoring rightwing paramilitary activity (ORDEN, UGB) against perceived enemies. Defense Minister Vides tried to clean out some of the worst human rights offenders when he led the GN.

**Politically Significant
Organizations (continued)**

Acronym	Title and Leaders	Comments
ISTA	Salvadoran Institute of Agrarian Transformation Dr. Jorge Arturo Argueta (president) Raul Gochez Sergio Rene Canales Rodriguez	Established in 1975 by Molina government to distribute 150,000 acres of government-controlled land. This caused backlash from traditional oligarchy, including ANEP and FARO, but won cautious approval from several figures now in the FDR. Reconstituted in March 1980 to administer new decrees on agrarian reform. Rightwing violence was directed at ISTA officials and peasant beneficiaries of the program. (The Salvadoran gunned down with two labor officials in the 1981 Sheraton murders was president of ISTA.) In wake of 1982 Assembly elections ISTA has been captured by ARENA and is being used to undermine Phase I of reform and to recruit votes for ARENA.
LP-28	Popular Leagues of 28 February Jose Leoncio Pichinte ^a	Small coalition of students, teachers, and peasants. Formed after government shooting of demonstrators protesting fraudulent 1977 presidential elections. Front group of ERP and now largely integrated with it. Carried out terrorist activities and at peak strength had about 1,000 members.
MERECEN	Stable Centrist Republican Movement Dr. Juan Ramon Rosales y Rosales (president) Dr. Luis Rolando Lopez Fortis	A party formed in 1983 to compete in March 1984 elections. Claims to be centrist but appears to be close to ARENA on most issues.
MHM	Anticommunist Alliance of El Salvador of the Glorious Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez Brigade No leader currently identified, but D'Aubuisson at one time was leader	Rightwing death squad which claimed responsibility for killing six FDR leaders in November 1980 and similar incidents in 1983. Named for general who ruled El Salvador 1931-44. Probably linked to ARENA.
MIPTES	Independent Movement of Salvadoran Professionals Eduardo Calles (president) ^a Carlos Alberto Molina Osegueda	Formed in early 1980 as a moderate socialist movement. Member organization of FDR, and its original membership was about 200 to 400. Membership includes professionals—doctors, lawyers, economists, engineers, and writers.
MLP	People's Liberation Movement Carlos Gomez Alfredo Torres Jose Mario Lopez ^a	Created in 1979 as the political front for the PRTC. Many of its small membership of students and teachers have been incorporated into FARLP and others serve in diplomatic positions for insurgent alliance.
MNR	National Revolutionary Movement Guillermo Manuel Ungo (president) ^a Ivo Primo Alvarenga Italo Lopez Vallecillos Hector Oqueli Colindres David Guardon Valencia Mauricio Domenech Velasquez	Small social democratic party founded in 1964. Belongs to the SI. Member organization of the FDR, and its total strength is perhaps 100 to 200 card-carrying members. Part of UNO coalition, along with PDC and UDN, that took part in fraudulent presidential elections of 1972 and 1977.
MOR	Cayetano Carpio Revolutionary Workers Movement No leaders currently identified	A splinter group that broke away from the FPL in December 1983. Has condemned and threatened the current FPL leadership. Follows the divisionist policies of the former FPL leader, the late Salvador Cayetano Carpio.

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Politically Significant Organizations (continued)

Acronym	Title and Leaders	Comments
MPSC	Popular Social Christian Movement Jorge Villacorta Ruben Zamora (secretary general) ^a Juan Jose Martel Luis Antonio Menjivar Rivera (also known as Roberto Arguello or Roberto Mena) Julio Cesar Saravia Avalos Alberto Arene ^a	An organization belonging to the FDR whose two dozen or so original members broke with the PDC in March 1980.
MUSYGES	Labor Unity Movement of El Salvador No leaders currently identified but, in effect, FARN and FAPU probably are in charge	A leftist umbrella labor organization founded in late 1982. Marxists and non-Marxists members, but Marxists predominate. Was to serve as an action arm in overall guerrilla plan to create civil disturbance in urban areas in late 1983. Plans shelved because of government success against subversives and extreme right terrorism against members and sympathizers.
PAISA	Salvadoran Authentic Institutional Party Roberto Escobar Garcia (secretary general) ^a Dr. Maria Julia Castillo Dr. Carmen Canas de Lazo Angel Armando Alfaro Napoleon Bonilla, Jr. Dr. Carlos Arnulfo Crespin Daniel Ramirez Dr. Alfredo Marquez Juan Francisco Puquirre	Formed in October 1982 by nine deputies who had been elected in March 1982 on the PCN ticket. Basically rightist, especially in its willingness to blame all Salvadoran problems on what "the Communists" have done since 1977. Nevertheless, publicly supports issues such as land reform, advocacy of strong public health service, and denunciation of rightist death squads.
PCES (or PCS)	Communist Party of El Salvador Shafik Jorge Handal (secretary general) ^a Jorge Arias Gomez Mario Aguinada Carranza ^a Mario Americo Duran Dagoberto Gutierrez Linares ^a Miguel Saez Varela Adan Chicas	Orthodox Communist party that follows Moscow line. Formally established in 1930. After 1932 inspired peasant uprising, party devoted efforts to political activism and rejected armed insurgency. Altered that course following 1979 decision to create an armed wing, FAL. Also called Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS).
PCN	National Conciliation Party Raul Molina Martinez (secretary general) ^a Rafael Moran Castaneda Francisco Jose Guerrero ^a Arturo Mendez Hugo Carrillo Corleto Adolfo Ramirez Pena	Formed in 1961 and was the "official" party until 1979 coup. Able to use governmental organs such as CCE and the security forces to ensure election of its presidential candidates in 1967, 1972, and 1977. Finished a strong third in 1982 elections, winning 14 Assembly seats. Since then, however, nine of its 14 Assembly members joined PAISA because they believed its current leaders were shifting the party's orientation to the left. Still commands political sympathies of many military officers and some businessmen.
PDC	Christian Democratic Party Julio Rey Prendes (secretary general) ^a Jose Napoleon Duarte ^a Fidel Chavez Mena ^a Rodolfo Antonio Castillo Claramount ^a Dr. Pablo Mauricio Alvergue ^a Jose Antonio Morales Erlich ^a	Largest party in terms of popular support. Centrist. (See profile in text.)

Politically Significant Organizations (continued)

Acronym	Title and Leaders	Comments
PH	Treasury Police Col. Nicolas Carranza (director) ^a Capt. Tomas Salvador Perdomo (acting chief of intelligence)	Security force of 1,800. Organized in 1926 for customs duties and control of contraband. Operated primarily at airports, seaports, and frontier areas to fulfill those duties, but in recent years has targeted "political subversives." Members accused of death squad activities, but PH also has tried on occasion—honestly—to investigate other security forces' involvement in such activities. Suspect in guerrilla killing of US military officer was evidently tortured by PH to make him confess. Previous PH intelligence chief was transferred abroad because of his association with human rights abuses.
PN	National Police Col. Carlos Reynaldo Lopez Nuila (director) ^a Captain Antonio Lopez Davila (chief of intelligence)	Security force of about 5,500. Organized in its present form in 1945. The outgrowth of police forces intended for the protection of cities rather than rural areas (the responsibility of GN). Incumbent chief not an ARENA supporter nor directly involved in rightwing extremist activities, but both characteristics prevail just below his level. Previous chief of intelligence transferred because of association with human rights abuses.
POP	Popular Orientation Party Jose Alberto Medrano Averred (president) Rene Segovia (secretary general) Dr. Carlos Terorio Dr. Armando Pena Quezada Dr. Juan Dono Altamirando	Organized by former GN commander Jose Medrano to compete in the 1982 Assembly elections. Appealed to rural conservative voters, who, nevertheless, voted for ARENA. POP won no Assembly seats.
PPS	Salvadoran Popular Party Jose Francisco "Chico" Quinonez (secretary general) ^a Dr. Edgardo Guerra Hinds Roberto Lahud Genaro Pastore	Formed in 1965 by some disaffected PCN members and the conservative remnant of the centrist PAR. The rest of PAR had been taken over by leftists led by Fabio Castillo, who is now a political front man for the guerrillas. PPS obtained less than 3 percent of vote in the March 1982 elections and only one Assembly seat. Rightist; virtually indistinguishable from ARENA.
PRS	Salvadoran Revolutionary Party Joaquin Villalobos (secretary general) ^a	Party organization of the ERP formed in 1977. Name used in leftist propaganda, but organization is indistinguishable from ERP.
PRTC	Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers Fabio Castillo ^a Jose Mario Lopez ^a Roberto Roca ^a	Marxist-Leninist regional organization formed in 1976. Most active branch is in El Salvador, and until 1983 Salvadoran guerrillas connected with organization used PRTC as designation for military force, which is now known as FARLP.
RN	National Resistance Ferman Cienfuegos ^a	The political arm of FARN established in 1975.
SJC	Christian Legal Aid Roberto Cuellar (executive director)	Generally referred to as Socorro Juridico. Until May 1982 was the human rights office of the Archdiocese of San Salvador. Archbishop Rivera y Damas established Tutela Legal to take over the task of monitoring human rights abuses for the Archdiocese. He complained that Socorro Juridico focused on political violence emanating only from the government. Socorro Juridico, adding the adjective "Christian" to its name, has continued to function as an independent human rights organization located at the Jesuit high school, Externado San Jose. Leftist in orientation.

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**Politically Significant
Organizations (continued)**

Acronym	Title and Leaders	Comments
STIUSA	Trade Union of United Textile Industries, Inc. Francisco Calles (secretary general)	1,000 unionized employees of the Industrias Unidas textile firm. A founding member of the FDR, but has withdrawn from it and moved toward a centrist position. Presently a non-Marxist component of MUSYGES.
SUTC	United Trade Union of Construction Workers Juan Antonio Argueta	With over 20,000 construction workers, this union comprises 90 percent of total membership of FESINCONSTRANS. Centrist; supports PDC.
TL (or) Tutela Legal	Archbishop's Office of Legal Protection Maria Julia Hernandez (director)	Generally referred to as Tutela Legal. Established by Archbishop Rivera y Damas in May 1982, in place of Socorro Juridico, to monitor political violence from all sources. More centrist in orientation than Socorro Juridico, and its statistics are somewhat more reliable.
UCA	Central American University Ignacio Ellacuria, S. J. (rector) Luis de Sebastian, S. J. (former head, Economic Department) ^a Jon Sobrino, S. J. (head, Theology Department) Ramon Mayorga Quiros (former rector) Ignacio Martin-Baro, S. J. (vice rector) Italo Lopez Vallecillos (editor, <i>ECA</i>)	Jesuit university founded in 1966 ostensibly in part as a counterweight to leftist influences at the older University of El Salvador. Since then its faculty and publications, especially <i>Estudios Centroamericanos</i> , have moved steadily leftward. UCA supported the officers' coup of 1979—Mayorga was a member of the first junta formed at that time—but by 1981 generally favored the program of the FMLN and FDR.
UCS	Salvadoran Communal Union Ramon Aristides Mendoza Samuel Maldonado ^a Guillermo Blanco (secretary general) Tito Castro (adviser) Henry Santiago Fidel Joya	Over 50,000 members, including sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and members of cooperatives. Founded in 1968. Strong ties to its creator, the American Institute for Free Labor Development. Influences other rural-based cooperative associations, in part by providing technical assistance not readily forthcoming from ISTA.
UDN	Nationalist Democratic Union Mario Aguinada Carranza (secretary general) ^a	Front group of PCES formed in 1968 and built around trade unions, student groups, and slumdweller organizations. Considered only legitimate Marxist party by government. Joined with PDC and MNR in UNO coalition that contested presidential elections of 1972 and 1977. Most of its activists have joined FAL or left El Salvador.
UES	University of El Salvador Dr. Miguel Angel Parada (rector) Ricardo Calderon (secretary general) Ernesto Vela (dean, Science and Humanities)	The national university, sometimes called UN, with a peak enrollment in the late 1970s of more than 20,000. Marxist-led student organizations engaged in riots, which led to the closing of UES by the government in June 1980. No definite date for reopening has been set. Most of its faculty and administrators are center leftist or leftist.
UPD	Popular Democratic Union Miguel Angel Vazquez Salvador Carazo Orlando Echeverria Samuel Maldonado ^a Ramon Aristides Mendoza Gabriel Pilona Araujo Alejandro Escobar Cartagena Juan Antonio Argueta (all members of Political Commission)	Umbrella organization of four labor associations with a total membership of about 100,000: UCS, FESINCONSTRANS, CTS, and ACOPAI. Two members of the UPD's Political Commission represent each association. UPD is basically a political lobby group. Centrist; linked to PDC.

^a For biographic profiles, see appendix B; for Roberto D'Aubuisson, see special profile in text.

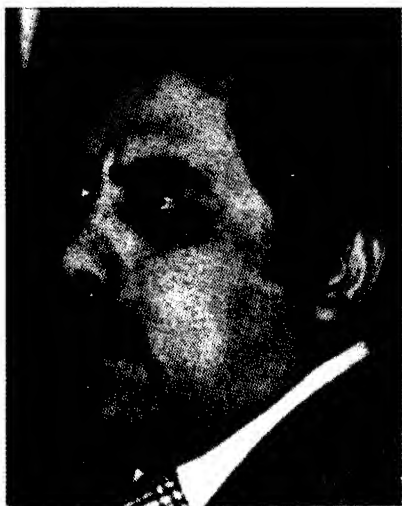
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Appendix B

Politically Significant Individuals



Mario Orlando Aguinada Carranza

41 years old ... in recent months appears to have become principal FMLN spokesman ... FDR leaders Ungo and Zamora seem to defer to his authority ... member of the DRU stationed in Nicaragua ... member of PCES Political Commission ... has been secretary general of UDN ... wants negotiations but states that the insurgent alliance will not participate in elections ... visited the Soviet Union several times and Cuba often, where he probably received military training and conferred with Fidel Castro ... [redacted] ... intelligent, articulate, intense ... several family members have been killed, probably by rightist terrorists. [redacted]



Pablo Mauricio Alvergue

Third Vice President since April 1982 ... more conservative than many in PDC, has been able to work with like-minded government officials ... served as Minister of the Presidency during 1981-82 ... in early 1983 supported Duarte's rival for PDC presidential nomination, Chavez Mena ... appears unemotional in public but can be argumentative in private, [redacted] ... occasionally criticizes US policies but friendly toward US officials ... a founder of the PDC in 1960 ... during 1971-72 was the party's secretary general ... 53 years old. [redacted]

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Alberto Arene

Marxist-oriented member, MPSC since 1981 . . . had been one of PDC's economic experts and served on its Executive Committee as treasurer . . . also headed Government's Institute for Development of Cooperatives in 1979-80 . . . in 1981, he visited Europe to mobilize opposition to the Salvadoran Government and to US support for it . . . about 30 years old. [redacted]

Claudio Rabindranath Armijo Serrano

Member ERP General Command . . . emphasizes his class credentials—says mother is of peasant stock . . . father, Roberto Armijo, was FMLN/FDR representative in France until late 1983 . . . captured in Honduras in 1981, Armijo was released following negotiations by Mexican Government . . . his mother captured and brother killed in an ERP safehouse in Tegucigalpa in 1982 . . . 26 years old. [redacted]



Liaison ©

Hugo Cesar Barrera Guerrero

Vice President, National Republican Alliance . . . was First Secretary, Constituent Assembly until December 1983, when he became ARENA's vice-presidential candidate . . . claims to be a stabilizing influence in ARENA and that he occasionally kept D'Aubuisson from being more extremist . . . has stated publicly that he is loyal to D'Aubuisson . . . was the party's unsuccessful candidate for provisional president in 1982 . . . has said that government should include representatives from business and labor . . . in 1982 tried unsuccessfully to incorporate several organized labor groups into ARENA . . . has been vice president of ASI and of ANEP since at least 1981. [redacted]

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**Alberto Benitez Bonilla**

President, Central Reserve Bank since 1981 ... apparently does not belong to a political party ... complains to US diplomats that US financial aid is too little ... under heavy political pressure from extreme rightist politicians, who have tried to remove him from office because he supported the investigation of possible financial irregularities by a colleague of Roberto D'Aubuisson ... ARENA members associate him with policies of Duarte ... ironically, was critical of Christian Democrats while they ran the government and has suggested that their manipulation of the economy for political gain blocked comprehensive economic policies ... came to United States in 1977 to attend seminar on foreign trade ... in 1982 visited Japan, inviting greater Japanese diplomatic and economic presence in El Salvador ... author of several economic publications ... 49 years old.

**Adolfo Onecifero Blandon Mejia**

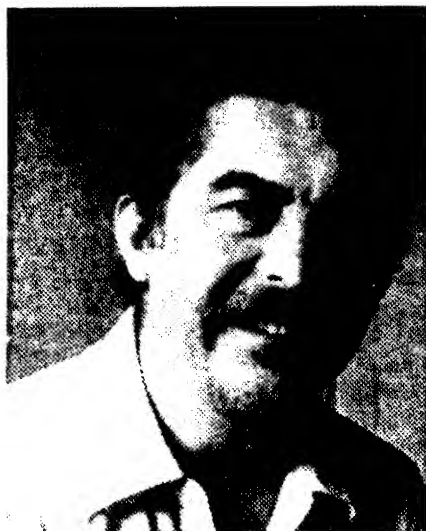
Chief of Staff, Armed Forces since November 1983 ... considered by US defense attache to be a stronger and more effective leader than his predecessor ... although Blandon has associated with rightwing extremists in the military, PDC officials have said that he is acceptable to the party ... during the 1960s and 1970s studied at the US Army School of the Americas and the Inter-American Defense College ... has served in Defense Ministry's Department of Public Relations and the Special Investigation Division of the National Police ... during 1979-80 was military attache to the United States ... traveled to the United States, France, and Spain in 1983 ... 48 years old.

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Arbeiderbladet ©

Eduardo Calles

President, MIPTES, vice president, FDR . . . agricultural engineer and former university professor . . . remained in San Salvador after 1980 murders of top FDR officials, apparently living on UCA campus . . . sometime in 1982 moved to Managua . . . 43 years old. [redacted]

Jorge Ruiz Camacho

President ACOPAI, a member organization of UPD and the fastest growing campesino group in country . . . rules ACOPAI firmly . . . UPD's most effective speaker and representative but distrusted by many colleagues . . . widely accused of being an opportunist, dealing with both left and right . . . may be trying to take over UPD, perhaps with ARENA support . . . high school graduate, and therefore suspect as a nonauthentic campesino . . . friendly with US Embassy officials but often uses contacts to own political advantage. [redacted]

**Nicolas Carranza Rivera**

Director General, Treasury Police since May 1983 . . .

[redacted] . intends to turn the Treasury Police's negative image around in order to gain political mileage . . . should he move to a position of increased military or political importance, could be influenced heavily by his ARENA ties . . . went to school with former moderate junta member Gen. Jaime Gutierrez, who appointed him Undersecretary of Defense in 1979, and with Minister of Defense Gen. Eugenio Vides Casanova, who selected him for his current position . . . in 1982 D'Aubuisson offered to support Carranza for the Defense portfolio and proposed him as a candidate for provisional President of the nation . . . rejected both offers because of military opposition but would like ultimately to be Defense Minister or President . . . has taken military courses in the United States and Mexico . . . served as general manager of ANTEL 1977-79 . . . after serving as Under Secretary of Defense, he returned to ANTEL as director in 1980 . . . from late 1982 until May 1983 he was president of the Hydro-electric Executive Committee . . . 50 years old. [redacted]

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**Ricardo Castaneda Cornejo**

Lawyer . . . moderate . . . enjoys confidence of many influential Salvadorans . . . legal representative of several US multinational corporations in El Salvador . . . may be candidate for Cabinet post when new government is formed after elections . . . during 1972-77 served as Under Secretary of Foreign Relations and then as Foreign Minister . . . studied at Princeton, the University of Michigan, and the Academy of International Law at The Hague . . . 45 years old. [redacted]

**Fabio Castillo Figueroa**

Regional head of the PRTC in charge of international relations . . . member, CPD . . . has studied in the United States . . . junta member, 1960-61 . . . Rector, UES, 1963-66 . . . unsuccessful presidential candidate in 1967 . . . visited the USSR, is close to the Soviets, and may have studied at Patrice Lumumba University . . . [redacted] . has been in Nicaragua and probably Cuba . . . son was killed in Nicaragua fighting alongside the Sandinistas . . . 62 years old. [redacted]

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Rodolfo Antonio Castillo Claramount

Previously leader of the PDC faction in the Legislative Assembly, was chosen as vice-presidential candidate in February 1984 after the Central Elections Council nullified Pablo Mauricio Alvergue's candidacy . . . Embassy officials say he is more popular with the PDC rank and file and is respected by many outside the party . . . in the Assembly was involved in a war of words with ARENA leader Roberto D'Aubuisson . . . Castillo charged ARENA was behind the rightwing death squad activity, whereas extreme rightists alleged Castillo probably was affiliated with a guerrilla group . . . 47 years old . . . Ambassador to the Dominican Republic in 1981-82.



Sygma ©

Fidel Angel Chavez Mena

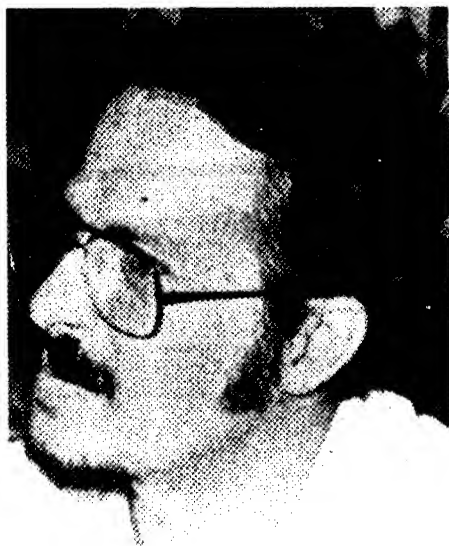
Minister of Foreign Affairs since January 1980 . . . since mid-1981 has held weekly meetings with US Embassy officials . . . has participated in initiatives of Contadora Group (Mexico, Colombia, Panama, and Venezuela) . . . in conversations with US Embassy officials has presented himself as a prime mover and behind-the-scenes idea man in government affairs and has consistently sought to enhance his standing with Embassy officials by enlarging on his role in internal politics . . . in March 1983 Chavez Mena decided to make a bid for the PDC presidential nomination and tried to discredit Duarte through a campaign of innuendo about his unsuitability for leadership . . . the military views him as less of a threat than Duarte . . . also has many wealthy Salvadoran friends . . . has a strong respect for private sector . . . has advocated larger governmental role in the economy through equitable tax and wage policies rather than radical agrarian reforms . . . has taught law at the UES and the UCA . . . studiously avoids publicizing his positions until he has done his homework and tested the waters . . . 43 years old.

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**Ferman Cienfuegos**

True name Jose Eduardo Sancho Castaneda . . . FARN commander in chief and head of party organization, RN . . . member DRU . . . foreign journalists sometimes call him moderate . . . shrewd and intelligent, publicly tailors remarks to audience . . . admits high command of insurgency is Marxist, but says he is also a Christian . . . rank-and-file members of FARN unhappy with Cienfuegos and other organization leaders because they claim leaders have pursued opulent living styles in Managua . . . has visited Cuba several times and met Fidel Castro . . . may have received training in Soviet Union . . . has been to Libya . . . born in Costa Rica to a middle- or upper-class family . . . attended a Jesuit high school in San Salvador . . . became a political activist in mid-1960s . . . 36 years old.

**Frederico (Fredy) Delgado Acevedo**

Monsignor and Coordinator, Salvadoran Human Rights Commission; Member, Amnesty Board, and former secretary of the CEES . . . appointed coordinator of the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission in December 1982 . . . concurrently since May 1983 member of the government's amnesty board, which was designed to integrate members of the extreme left into the legitimate political process . . . has criticized human rights abuses committed by government . . . shows little sympathy for the extreme right and its supporters but probably views the extreme left as a greater threat . . . says subversives used liberation theology of reform-minded Catholic clergy to advance their goals . . . also said he believed the guerrillas assassinated Archbishop Oscar Romero in March 1980, although best evidence is that rightist terrorists were responsible . . . in early 1981 traveled to the United States, Canada, and Western Europe . . . attempted to persuade church and government officials in those countries that Salvadoran leftists who talk to them distort the Salvadoran situation.

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Sygma ©

Jose Napoleon Duarte Fuentes

Presidential candidate . . . won the Christian Democratic Party's nomination over Foreign Minister Fidel Chavez Mena . . . has many enemies in the private sector who, along with some extreme rightist military officers, believe that he and the PDC are little better than Communists because of their views on social reform . . . favors close consultation with the United States . . . studied engineering at Notre Dame 1945-48 . . . in 1960 helped to organize the PDC, mayor of San Salvador during 1964-70 . . . in 1972 ran for president and barely won, but Army and electoral commission altered the results in favor of his military opponent . . . became involved in an attempted coup, was arrested and tortured by security forces—requiring plastic surgery on his face—finally exiled when foreign countries interceded to plead for his life . . . most of the next seven years spent in Venezuela, returning home in 1979, after President Romero had been ousted . . . thereafter committed himself to working with the Army to bring political stability to the country and to realize his ambition for leadership . . . listens to the advice of others, although he can become doctrinaire on some issues . . . somewhat flamboyant orator . . . 58 years old. [redacted]

**Roberto Escobar Garcia**

Retired colonel . . . has been Secretary General, PAISA since October 1982 . . . formed PAISA from PCN when split occurred—precipitated by decision of PCN to shift party away from its traditional, conservative orientation . . . tries to lure from D'Aubuisson and ARENA some of their less extreme rightwing supporters . . . even before his retirement from the military, was in nonmilitary positions . . . legal adviser for National Police, 1966-69 . . . Minister of Agriculture, 1975-77 . . . Minister of Labor, 1977-79 . . . 47 years old. [redacted]

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Julio Flores

BPR Secretary General . . . in 1982 was at FPL stronghold in northern El Salvador . . . has traveled abroad on FMLN missions and in late 1983 was in Spain. [redacted]

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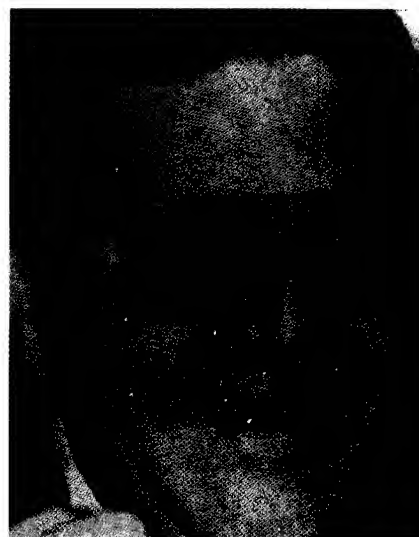
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New York Times ©

Rafael Flores Lima

Deputy Minister of Defense since February 1983 . . . press secretary to President Carlos Romero during 1977-79 . . . one of few military officers in that administration permitted to have a role in government that succeeded it . . . probably owed his assignment as Chief of Staff in 1980 to then Minister of Defense Jose Guillermo Garcia . . . when it became apparent that Garcia was on his way out, Flores Lima began to disagree with many of Garcia's policies . . . in April 1983 was retained by then new Defense Minister Vides Casanova, who promoted him to general . . . has tried to make the military more professional, less repressive, and less political . . . has told US military officers that Salvadoran guerrillas would be hurt most by a US military strike against Nicaragua . . . privately claims to be worried more about the threat to his country from ARENA than about guerrillas . . . received training at the Mexican Superior War College (1968-71) . . . attended public safety (1967) and military intelligence (1977) courses in the United States . . . 48 years old.

**Rene Fortin Magana**

Secretary General, AD . . . attempting to establish the AD's credentials as a social democratic party, to strengthen its role in Salvadoran politics, and improve prospects for financial support from social democratic parties in Latin America and Europe . . . friendly toward United States . . . not an astute politician . . . refused to join in when all other Salvadoran parties and military endorsed President Magana's 1982 Pact of Apaneca . . . rebuffed PDC overtures to form coalition in March 1984 presidential election . . . apparently prefers to concentrate on building his party and keeping it independent . . . has long supported agrarian reform and was principal drafter of Law of Expropriation for Public Good, which formed basis of an aborted attempt at land reform in 1975 . . . recognizes the need for judicial and legal reform . . . in favor of dialogue with extreme left and of participation by left in electoral process but opposes any power-sharing arrangement with guerrillas . . . in 1960 he was a member of a leftist-oriented civilian-military junta that seized control of the government . . . in 1967 became dean of the UES Law School; during his tenure, Communists and rightists alike sought his removal . . . resigned in 1970 protesting Marxist domination of the school . . . a cousin of outgoing President Magana . . . 52 years old.

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Secret**Leonel Gonzalez**

First Secretary General and Commander in Chief, FPL . . . member, DRU . . . member, FMLN General Command . . . has been an educator and political organizer . . . spends much time in Nicaragua at FPL headquarters . . . has rejected the late Salvador Cayetano Carpio's past leadership of FPL and favors cooperation with other insurgent groups . . . pro-Cuban.



Sygma ©

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Salvador Guerra

Commander, FPL Central Front . . . has been DRU member . . . after Carpio's death in April 1983, acted as FPL head until election of new officers in September 1983 . . . during this tenure, FPL stepped up terrorist activities, and organization claimed responsibility for assassination of US Navy Lt. Cdr. Albert Schaufelberger in May 1983 . . . has publicly acknowledged importance of Cuba and the Soviet Union as insurgent allies . . . about 34 years old.

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Sygma ©

Francisco Jose ("Chachi") Guerrero Cienfuegos

Minister of the Presidency from May 1982 until December 1983 . . . a leading member of the PCN since the early 1960s . . . a longtime friend of President Magana's and his main political adviser . . . the PCN's presidential candidate in March 1984 elections . . . has professed friendship for the United States . . . astute politician . . . [redacted] . . . with some charisma and humor . . . holds a doctorate in law . . . Foreign Minister from 1968 to 1971 when he was dismissed because of unauthorized political maneuvering while trying to obtain the PCN nomination for higher office . . . legal adviser to many large Salvadoran corporations and most powerful families . . . has traveled extensively in the United States . . . 58 years old. [redacted]



Sygma ©

Jaime Abdul Gutierrez Avendano

Former junta member . . . a primary actor in the 1979 coup . . . served on the junta that governed El Salvador until May 1982, when the Salvadoran provisional government was established . . . the junta's survival depended largely on his ability to resolve differences between civilian and military members . . . concurrently Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces from May 1980 until May 1982 . . . inactive military duty status since then . . . cooperative with US officials . . . one senior US diplomat described him in 1982 as a "true patriot" . . . military experience has been primarily administrative and technical . . . has served as director of the government-run telephone company of El Salvador (1974) and as head of the logistics center of the Armed Forces (1978-79) . . . 47 years old. [redacted]

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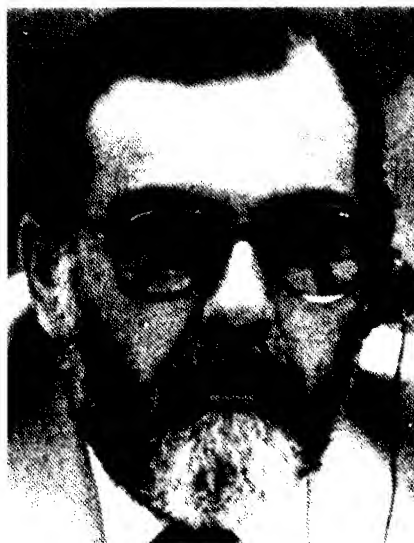
Jeanette Harris ©

Gabriel Mauricio Gutierrez Castro

Second Vice President . . . well known in his native Santa Ana Department, in western El Salvador . . . has stated that he admires the United States . . . is subservient to ARENA leadership . . . US Embassy believes that an unconfirmed report of his involvement in rightist death squad activity is untrue . . . a one-time student and law clerk of Bernardo Sepulveda (who is now the Foreign Minister of Mexico and with whom Gutierrez claims to have a close relationship) . . . later earned a doctorate in law from UES . . . a representative of the PCN in the National Assembly from 1972 until the 1979 coup . . . raises cattle . . . 40 years old. [redacted]

Dagoberto Gutierrez Linares

Member, Political Commission, PCES . . . in early 1970s was PCES official in charge of party activities in the student sector . . . in mid-1970s was editor of party publication and a UDN deputy to the National Assembly . . . spokesman for insurgent representatives who met with the Salvadoran Peace Commission in Bogota, Colombia, in September 1983. [redacted]



Shafik Jorge Handal

PCES Secretary General since at least 1973 . . . member of DRU who mediates factional disputes . . . has close ties to Soviet Union and Cuba and is, perhaps, the key liaison official of the insurgency with friendly countries . . . traveled to USSR, Cuba, Vietnam, Eastern Europe, and Ethiopia to procure arms for the January 1981 "final offensive" . . . has good Arab contacts and has visited Libya, Syria, and Lebanon, where he met top officials of the Palestine Liberation Organization . . . advocates a Communist government for El Salvador . . . from upper-middle-class family that immigrated from Palestine . . . 53 years old. [redacted]

Raul Hercules

Probably number-three man in FARN . . . FARN's top official at Guazapa, a major insurgent stronghold near San Salvador, and a member of FMLN general command located there. [redacted]

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Ana Mercedes del Carmen Letona

Member, ERP General Command and has been head of group's clandestine news network, Radio Vencemos . . . probably joined ERP in 1974 . . . a twin sister, Lilian del Carmen Letona, who was also a key ERP guerrilla commander, was granted amnesty in June 1983 after two years' imprisonment but was soon killed during an engagement with government forces . . . Ana has visited Cuba . . . 29 years old.

Jose Mario Lopez Alvarenga

In 1980 was called Fabio Castillo's right-hand man in El Salvador and has been MLP secretary of relations . . . former secretary general of ANDES and active in teachers' strikes in 1968 and 1971 . . . once taught at a secondary school in San Salvador and economics courses at UES . . . in 1975 may have directed plans to kidnap a prominent Salvadoran industrialist . . . one of representatives of insurgent alliance who met with US delegation led by former Special Ambassador Richard Stone . . . has visited Cuba.



Conrado Lopez Andreu

President, ANEP . . . a member of ARENA . . . heavily influenced by the Miami Group, a loosely organized group of wealthy exiles who provide money to Salvadoran rightwing extremists . . . hostile toward US presence and has criticized it for "interference" in Salvadoran affairs . . . in 1981 he led an influential group opposing reforms proposed by government, particularly in banking and foreign trade . . . in May 1983 he and five other private-sector leaders met with Minister of Defense Eugenio Vides Casanova to propose the formation of an armed civil defense organization to reinforce security in major cities and on private farms of ANEP members . . . studied at the University of California at Davis . . . brother-in-law of FDR head Guillermo Ungo . . . 49 years old.

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Carlos Reynaldo Lopez Nuila

Director, National Police since October 1979 ... may have been assigned to the position because his diplomatic service in the 1970s had diminished his awareness of human rights violations in El Salvador ... a member of El Salvador's Human Rights Commission since its establishment in December 1982 ... has tried to reduce rights abuses and corruption in the National Police, and has established a good counterterrorism record for the organization ... cooperates with US officials, who say that he may at times be misinformed because corrupt subordinates have deceived him ... in 1981 Embassy officials reported that rightwing extremists in the National Police complained that he was too soft and too far left ... associated with moderates in the Salvadoran military ... in 1982, as a member of a government commission reviewing land reform policy, he supported positions of democratic peasant organizations ... described as acceptable by PDC ... attended the US Army School of the Americas ... began his career as an infantry officer and served in National Guard ... served in Spain as assistant military attache (1970-74) and as military attache (1977-79) ... 45 years old.



Liaison ©

Alvaro Alfredo Magana Borja

Provisional president ... ARENA wanted one of its members to be president, but military directed ARENA to accept Magana ... has shown some adeptness in dealing with D'Aubuisson ... has publicly said that there will be no negotiations about power sharing with extreme left, but agreed that government would talk to the opposition about its participation in elections ... although aware that the Salvadoran military does not want to prosecute aggressively human rights abusers, Magana is trying to control excesses ... because of his backing for reforms, is not well liked by many businessmen ... well connected in international banking circles and well known to financial ministers and economic advisers of many Latin American governments ... described by US Embassy officials as "euphoric" after meeting with President Ronald Reagan in December 1982 ... would like to see Central American Democratic Community become more vigorous, in part as a counterweight to current regime in Nicaragua, which he has called a threat to region ... has a master's degree in economics from University of Chicago ... developed extensive contacts in military and close relations with senior officers of armed forces, in part, some say, because he was willing to write off bad loans to military officers ... tends to view international relations in terms of personalities ... 58 years old.

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Samuel Maldonado

Key leader of UCS, who is sometimes described as most intelligent of present union leadership . . . however, poor manager of UCS affairs . . . one of most visible officials of UPD . . . has no formal links with any political party, but friendly with PDC wing that supports Chavez Mena . . . was object of virulent personal attack in October 1983 by Roberto D'Aubuisson who accused him of being a former member of ERP and FARN and still maintaining contact with them . . . accusation generated considerable concern for his safety . . . a good public speaker . . . has visited United States . . . about 40 years old.



UPI ©

Ana Maria Guadalupe Martinez Menendez

31 years old . . . member ERP General Command . . . member, CPD . . . physically attractive propagandist for the FMLN . . . a former medical student who joined ERP in 1973 . . . in 1975 commanded ERP guerrilla forces in eastern zone . . . involved in terrorist activities and in 1976 killed a Salvadoran policeman . . . subsequently imprisoned but in 1977 ERP secured her release in exchange for a kidnaped Salvadoran industrialist . . . went into exile in Algeria . . . has praised terrorist bombing of US Marine Headquarters in Beirut . . . has traveled to Cuba several times . . . occasionally spends time with ERP parent organization in El Salvador . . . has visited the United States and Europe to propagandize FMLN/FDR cause.

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**Ana Sonia Medina Arriola**

Member ERP General Command . . . may have joined ERP in 1972 . . . was married to Joaquin Villalobos in mid-1970s, but may be divorced . . . father, who was in government's Finance Ministry, was kidnaped in 1982 . . . studied computer programming and has degree in mathematics from UES . . . 31 years old.



UPI ©

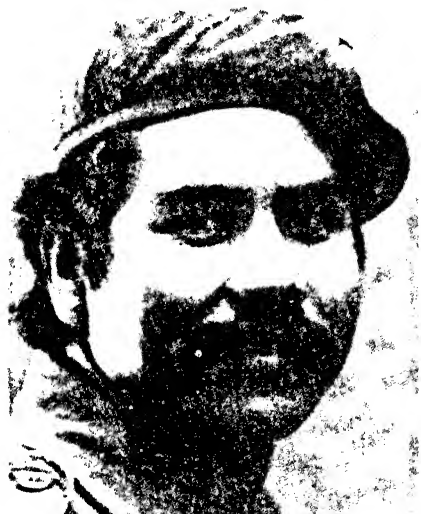
Juan Ramon Medrano

Member ERP General Command and commander of organization's Southeastern Front . . . DRU member . . . entered ERP in 1973 . . . a US journalist who interviewed Medrano in 1982 said he seemed intent on dispelling the Salvadoran guerrillas' reputation for radicalism . . . has visited Cuba several times . . . as a DRU representative, attended the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba in December 1980 . . . studied philosophy and sociology at UES . . . former secondary school teacher . . . 33 years old.

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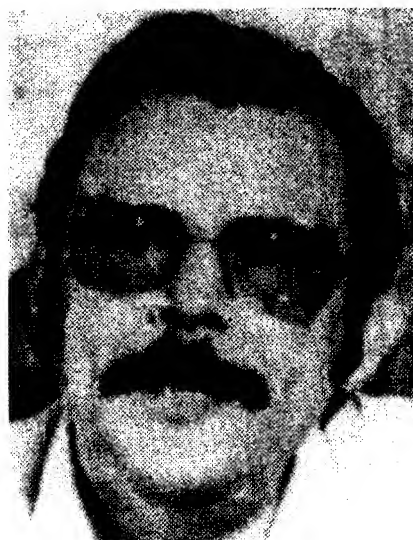
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Jorge Antonio Melendez

ERP deputy commander in chief, commander of organization's Northeastern Front, and member of its General Command . . . member of DRU . . . maintains he first became involved in revolutionary activities at age 14 . . . looks like a young Emiliano Zapata according to a Finnish journalist . . . has visited Cuba . . . studied theater arts . . . 30 years old.



Raul Molina Martinez

First vice president since April 1982 . . . became secretary general of PCN after it was removed from power in October 1979 coup . . . has given the PCN a new centrist direction to move it away from traditional position as the military-dominated government party . . . led to a split in 1982; those who favored maintaining the traditional rightist orientation formed PAISA . . . nevertheless, would substantially modify current government programs—which he identifies with the Christian Democrats . . . blames them for many problems in El Salvador . . . in late 1950s and early 1960s he studied in Havana and at University of Michigan . . . rumors still circulate that Molina misappropriated PCN treasury funds in 1979 to use in his businesses but he accuses a local manager of embezzling the money . . . Alejandro Duarte, son of Jose Napoleon Duarte and current mayor of San Salvador, has been involved in some of Molina's business dealings; the two families have long been friends . . . in 1979 his father was assassinated; in 1980, his son met the same fate . . . 45 years old.

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**Aristides Napoleon Montes Gonzalo**

Director, National Guard since April 1983 and a member of organization since 1947 . . . replaced Gen. Vides Casanova, who apparently trusts Montes . . . in May 1981, Vides named Montes to head a commission investigating the involvement of six National Guardsmen in the December 1980 murder of four US churchwomen . . . has been linked to rightist terrorists:

[redacted]
[redacted] . . . 52 years old. [redacted]

**Jose Antonio Morales Ehrlich**

PDC member since its establishment in 1960 . . . member of the junta from January 1980 to April 1982 . . . member of PDC leftwing . . . unpopular with many influential Salvadorans because of his advocacy of agrarian reform. . . two sons are involved in radical leftist activities and are FPL members . . . dynamic and ambitious . . . has studied in United States . . . doctorate in law from UES . . . 48 years old. [redacted]

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**Miguel Muyschondt Yudice**

Minister of Agriculture and Livestock since May 1982 . . . has publicly called for a "great agricultural offensive" to produce more food, generate foreign exchange, and increase employment . . . member of ARENA . . . received a degree in agriculture from Texas A&M University in 1956 . . . from 1978-82 served as manager of the Association of Salvadoran Coffee Processors and Exporters (ABECAFE) . . . 50 years old.

**Jose Leoncio Pichinte**

Has been secretary general of LP-28 and the organization's representative to CRM and FDR . . . joined ERP in Northeastern Front in February 1981 after murders of top FDR officials in November 1980 and became head of the political section of Radio Venceremos . . . transferred to Guazapa, a major guerrilla stronghold near San Salvador in February 1982 . . . Western press describes him as a tiny, nervous organizer with a seventh-grade education . . . about 30 years old.

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UPI ©

Jose Francisco Quinonez Avila

Secretary general, PPS since about 1974 . . . from one of wealthiest and most politically active families in El Salvador . . . was coordinator of government's three-member Peace Commission in 1983 until he became PPS presidential candidate . . . helped draft and enact amnesty program for guerrillas that went into effect in May 1983 . . . he and colleagues in Peace Commission have been only representatives of government to hold official discussions with extreme leftists . . . strongly anti-Communist and believes that El Salvador's problems stem from subversion originating in Moscow, Havana, and Managua . . . graduated from the University of Southwestern Louisiana in 1964 . . . 41 years old.



Frontline: Crossfire and El Salvador ©

Mario Redaelli

Has been a spokesman for ARENA and top official of organization since at least October 1981, when he registered it for March 1982 elections . . . claims that during a brief Communist-inspired peasant uprising in 1932, insurgents killed his father and raped his mother.

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UPI ©

Marco Rene Revelo Contreras

Member, Salvadoran Peace Commission; Bishop of Santa Ana since 1981 . . . has also been head of the Episcopal Conference—the church's coordinating body—since March 1983 . . . as a member of the Peace Commission since its inception in February 1983, participated in negotiations held in Bogota in August and September 1983 with representatives of the leftist guerrilla groups fighting to overthrow the Salvadoran government . . . accused the leftists of trying to negotiate their way into power . . . has publicly criticized Salvadoran church officials involved in leftist political activities . . . in 1981 told Embassy officials that, although as a churchman he had to defend the idea of negotiating with the guerrillas, he really believed that military action by the government was the only way to bring the insurgents under control . . . in 1983, however, when he met with members of the Kissinger commission on Central America, he stated that priority must be given to finding a political solution to the country's civil war.



Liaison ©

Julio Adolfo Rey Prendes

PDC Secretary General since 1982 and during 1978-79 . . . along with Duarte was a member of the eight-man organizing committee that founded the PDC . . . able and effective politician but has fiery temper . . . B.S. degree in political science from Tulane University . . . 52 years old.

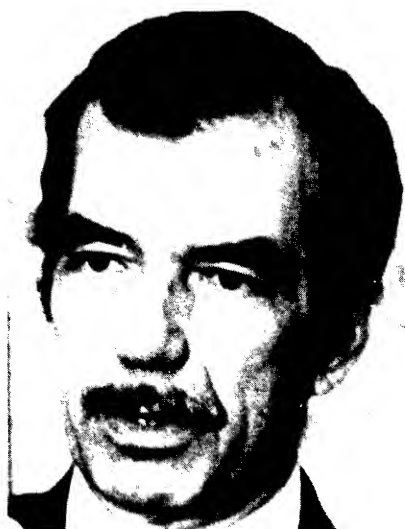


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Wide World ©

Ernesto Rivas Gallont

Ambassador to the United States since June 1981 . . . attends all Congressional hearings on El Salvador and often travels outside Washington to inform interested parties about Salvadoran events . . . once quite conservative, now sees political and economic reforms as necessary to the achievement of stability in El Salvador . . . views have caused him problems: some of his properties have been bombed (at the behest, he suspects, of wealthy expatriates), and in October 1981 someone attempted to murder one of his sons . . . Salvadoran rightists have wanted him replaced . . . earned a B.A. degree in accounting from the Pierce School of Business in Philadelphia in 1950 . . . served as a key official of ANEP (1975-79) . . . 54 years old.

Julio Rivas Gallont

Has been a member of PDC Tribunal of Honor, which was added to the party's structure in 1980 to resolve intraparty conflict . . . brother of Ernesto Rivas Gallont, Salvadoran Ambassador to the United States . . . also head of CONAES, where he tries to mobilize private-sector support for PDC.



New York Times ©

Arturo Rivera y Damas

As Archbishop of San Salvador heads the Roman Catholic Church El Salvador . . . after the murder of Archbishop Oscar Romero in March 1980, became acting apostolic administrator for San Salvador, until Pope John Paul II elevated him to archbishop in March 1983 . . . was closely associated with Romero, who favored leftist radical confrontation with the government . . . insists, however, that violent revolution will not solve the country's problems and criticizes atrocities committed by left and right . . . has said he is aware of leftist manipulation of church . . . extremists on the right, however, continue to portray him as an apologist for the left in the mold of Romero . . . has publicly criticized the inflow of any arms into his country, whether from the United States for the armed forces or from clandestine sources for the left . . . has condemned the increasingly authoritarian regime in Managua . . . has also reproached clerical supporters of the Sandinistas, who he says disobey the guidance of the Pope and his bishops . . . 60 years old.

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**Manuel Antonio Robles Granados**

Minister of Planning . . . experienced economist but neither ambitious nor innovative; favors small agricultural projects . . . may have been selected for the Cabinet post because of his political support for President Alvaro Magana . . . from 1979 until his present assignment served as El Salvador's director at the Central American Bank for Economic Integration . . . 52 years old . . . has traveled extensively.

**Roberto Roca**

True name Francisco Jovel Urquilla . . . heads Salvadoran branch of PRTC, commander in chief FARLP . . . member, DRU . . . at least one European socialist has likened him to a flamboyant social reformist in the Andre Malraux mold, apparently ignoring his group's violent side . . . acknowledges mutual cooperation among revolutionaries in Central America . . . became political activist while attending UES in early 1970s and was member of AGEUS directorate and JCS . . . in mid-1970s helped organize PRTC . . . 35 years old.

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Dimas Rodriguez

Deputy secretary general and deputy commander in chief, FPL . . . probable member, DRU . . . has commanded FPL military forces . . . has rejected the late Carpio's leadership of FPL and favors cooperation with other insurgent groups . . . pro-Cuban.

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Jeanette Harris ©

Jose Antonio Rodriguez Porth

Lawyer . . . member of ARENA's advisory council . . . former Foreign Minister (1978-79) and member of PCN . . . tied to the landed aristocracy . . . opposed to agrarian reform . . . has compared Duarte's policies to those of Marxist-Leninist governments of Cuba and Nicaragua . . . has supported electoral process in El Salvador as the only solution to country's political problems . . . says that Salvadoran Government should not negotiate with guerrillas . . . an unsuccessful candidate for president on PPS ticket in the 1972 elections . . . 67 years old. [redacted]

**Jose Napoleon Rodriguez Ruiz**

54 years old . . . member, CPD, and of FARN . . . as professor and official at the UES during the 1960s and 1970s, attempted to increase Communist influence there . . . former member PCES Central Committee . . . broke with party in 1972 because of differences with Shafik Handal . . . joined FARN in late 1970s and was a top FAPU official . . . has traveled to Cuba and the Soviet Union several times.

[redacted]

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Gregorio Rosa Chavez

Auxiliary Bishop, Archdiocese of San Salvador since April 1982 . . . reached his present post as the result of a compromise between Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas and conservative Salvadoran bishops . . . has condemned both Sandinista repression of the church in Nicaragua and Cuba's distortion of the Salvadoran church's homilies for use in propaganda broadcasts over Radio Havana . . . appalled by extreme rightist atrocities, has strongly condemned death squads . . . in late 1983, after criticizing legislative impasse on land reform, he and Rivera y Damas received threats, and Rosa Chavez's father was seized and detained briefly at a military outpost near his home. Rosa Chavez has told Embassy officials that his father's seizure proved a connection between military and rightwing death squads . . . disapproves of US training programs for Salvadoran troops in Honduras . . . ESA claims he has a brother in ERP. . . 41 years old. [redacted]

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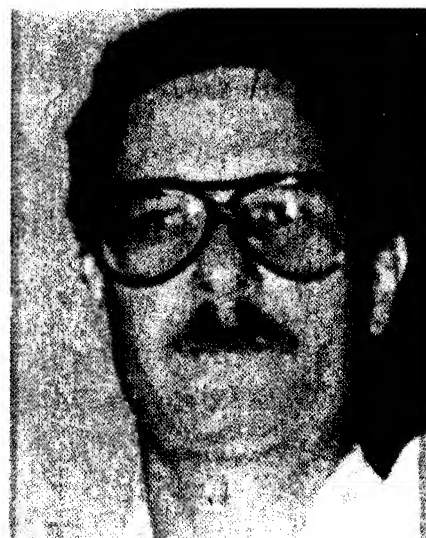
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**Mauricio Rosales Rivera**

Permanent representative to the United Nations since March 1980 . . . officials at US Mission have varied opinions of Rosales . . . several have said he is intelligent, helpful, and well informed . . . others have claimed he was neither well known to nor highly regarded by his colleagues and lacked the personality or presence to represent his country well, particularly in nonaligned affairs . . . has usually cooperated with US officials . . . has reacted publicly with dismay to obvious involvement of Salvadoran military in atrocities, although he counters that guerrillas are capable of committing similar outrages . . . holds an LL.D. from UES, and during 1965-72 taught labor law there . . . during 1978-79 was general director of Department of External Politics in Foreign Ministry . . . 47 years old. []

**Salvador Ricardo Samayoa Leiva**

33 years old . . . member, CPD and FPL . . . former professor at UCA . . . served briefly in 1979 as Minister of Education in JRG . . . was clandestine FPL member while in government . . . has visited former PLO training sites in Lebanon . . . Salvadoran Army troops killed his common law wife's brother—an FPL guerrilla—in 1982. []

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Jose Venancio Salvatierra

FARLP guerrilla commander who has been located at Guazapa, an insurgent stronghold near San Salvador . . . member of political commission of Salvadoran branch of PRTC . . . has visited Cuba several times, once in December 1980 as a DRU delegate to the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba. []

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Luis de Sebastian

Chief FDR representative in Europe, resident in Brussels, Belgium . . . believed to be a BPR activist, although he describes himself as a Christian Democrat close to Ruben Zamora . . . has supported insurgent violence . . . says that Washington is the main enemy of FDR . . . has issued erroneous information about US involvement in El Salvador and has said that US military advisers have died in combat there . . . a Jesuit priest, was vice rector of UCA (1976-80).

Eduardo Solorzano

FARN deputy head . . . member DRU . . . has been to Cuba and met Fidel Castro.



Camera Press ©

Guillermo Manuel Ungo Revelo

President, FDR . . . served briefly in the JRG that took power after 1979 coup . . . resigned in January 1980 over what he called failure of junta to institute necessary socioeconomic reforms . . . since at least April 1983 has been a vice president of Socialist International (SI) . . . has helped to maintain fiction that Cuba, Nicaragua, and other Communist countries do not provide military support to Salvadoran guerrillas . . . has been in Cuba many times and met with Fidel Castro . . . has privately admitted that the small group of non-Marxists he leads would be virtually powerless in an insurgent-led coalition . . . once rejected direct discussions with the Salvadoran Government, in 1981 said, "We want to talk to the owner of the circus (the United States), not to the acrobats" . . . has said that radical opposition had no interest in the March 1984 elections unless they could participate in arranging them . . . from an upper-middle-class family . . . earned an LL.B. degree in 1963 . . . served as official in the UES Faculty of Law . . . secretary general of MNR, a member of the SI . . . running mate of Duarte in the 1972 presidential election . . . maintains a residence in Panama . . . 52 years old.

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Pablo Uribe

Member FARLP General Command and organization's commander on Southeastern Front . . . member of political commission of Salvadoran branch of PRTC . . . says he is of middle-class origins, a former university student, and has been a revolutionary since 1975 . . . a Nicaraguan.



Sygma ©

Carlos Eugenio Vides Casanova

Minister of Defense since April 1983 . . . principal intermediary between civilian government and military . . . has publicly supported government's agrarian reform and democratization process but in private has expressed reservations about enforcing these policies . . . says he would like to get military out of politics in order to concentrate on fighting insurgents . . . served as Commander of the National Guard from October 1979 officers' coup until he became Defense Minister . . . criticized by some Salvadoran and foreign observers for not pressing the investigation of guardsmen connected with murder of four US churchwomen in December 1980 . . . enjoys good relations with many civilians of varying political persuasions . . . welcomes US support for his government but has been recalcitrant in areas that touch on the institutional integrity of the military . . . in 1977 visited Cuba to attend a meeting of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean Sugar Exporting Countries . . . counts that trip a formative highlight in his career, perhaps because it gave him a negative picture of socialist societies . . . 45 years old.

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**Joaquin Villalobos Hueso**

Member of ERP since 1973, commander in chief and head of its party organization, PRS since 1977 . . . Marxist-Leninist . . . has acknowledged support of Cuba in revolution . . . has publicly advocated terrorism . . . visited Cuba several times and receives Cuban support . . . some say he dislikes dependency on Havana . . . 32 years old.

**Saul Valentin Villalta Carballo**

Has been secretary general of FAPU and that organization's representative to CRM and FDR . . . CDHES member in 1978 . . . was at Guazapa, major guerrilla stronghold near San Salvador, in early 1982 . . . apparently captured by Salvadoran security forces in August 1982 and current whereabouts unknown . . . 35 years old.

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Ruben Ignacio Zamora Rivas

Member, CPD . . . secretary general of the MPSC . . . Minister of the Presidency in government formed after 1979 coup . . . in January 1980 he resigned to protest the government's failure to implement promised socioeconomic reforms . . . with CPD he works toward gaining international support for the insurgents . . . ostensibly principal overseas public spokesman for insurgent alliance but authority limited because not FMLN member . . . completed studies for the priesthood in Cuba at time of Castro takeover but never ordained . . . holds a law degree from the UES and an M.A. degree in economics from the University of Essex, England . . . from at least 1970 until 1977 taught law and political science at UES, and in 1975-77 was chairman of the Political Science Department . . . arrested several times because of his political activities, including alleged involvement in a 1971 political kidnaping . . . has said insurgents take full responsibility for death of US Navy Lt. Cmdr. Albert Schaufelberger . . . a brother was killed by rightwing terrorists in 1980 . . . 43 years old.

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Appendix C

Comprehensive Glossary of Salvadoran Organizations

Acronym	Spanish Title	English
AAC	Asociaciones de Ahorro y Credito	Savings and Loan Associations
AAES ^a	Asociacion de Avicultores de El Salvador	Poultry Growers' Association of El Salvador
AAES ^a	Asociacion Azucarera de El Salvador	Sugar Association of El Salvador
ABECAFE ^a	Asociacion Salvadorena de Beneficiadores y Exportadores de Cafe	Salvadoran Association of Coffee Processors and Exporters
ABS	Asociacion Bancaria Salvadorena	Salvadoran Banking Association
ACES ^a	Asociacion Cafetalera de El Salvador	Association of Salvadoran Coffee Producers
ACOPAI ^b	Asociacion de Cooperativas de Produccion Agropecuaria Integradas	Association of Cooperatives of Integrated Agricultural Livestock Products
AD ^b	Accion Democratica	Democratic Action
ADES ^a	Asociacion de Distribuidores de El Salvador	Distributors' Association of El Salvador
ADMAI ^a	Asociacion de Distribuidores de Maquinaria Agricola e Industrial	Association of Distributors of Agricultural and Industrial Machinery
AEAS	Asociacion de Empresarios de Autobuses Salvadorenos	Association of Salvadoran Bus Owners
AEME	Asociacion de Empleados del Ministerio de Education	Association of Education Ministry Employees
AES	Asociacion de Estudiantes de Secundaria	Association of Secondary School Students
AGEAP	Asociacion de Graduados de la Escuela Agricola Panamericana	Association of Graduates of the Pan-American Agriculture School
AGEPYM	Asociacion General de Empleados Publicos y Municipales	General Association of Public and Municipal Employees
AGES ^a	Asociacion de Ganaderos de El Salvador	Association of Salvadoran Cattlemen
AGEUS ^b	Asociacion General de Estudiantes Universitarios Salvadorenos	General Association of Salvadoran University Students
AGU	Asamblea General Universitaria	University General Assembly
AMAD	Asociacion Magisterial de Accion Democratica	Teachers Association of Democratic Action
AMES	Asociacion de Mujeres de El Salvador	Association of Salvadoran Women
AMOISS	Asociacion Medical Odontologica del Instituto Salvadoreno de Seguro Social	Medical-Dental Association of the Salvadoran Social Security Institute
AMP ^a	Asociacion de Medios Publicitarios Salvadorenos	Association of Salvadoran Advertising Media
AMUS	Asociacion de Mujeres Universitarias Salvadorenas	Association of Salvadoran University Women
ANA	Asociacion Nacional de Agricultores	National Association of Farmers
ANDA	Administracion Nacional de Acueductos y Alcantarillados	National Administration of Waterworks and Sewers
ANDES ^b	Asociacion Nacional de Educadoras Salvadorenos	National Association of Salvadoran Teachers
ANEP ^b	Asociacion Nacional de la Empresa Privada	National Association of Private Enterprise
ANES	Asociacion Nacional de Enfermeras Salvadorenas	National Association of Salvadoran Nurses
ANIS ^b	Asociacion Nacional Indigena Salvadorena	National Association of Salvadoran Indians
ANSESAL	Agencia Nacional de Servicios Especiales de El Salvador	National Agency of Special Services of El Salvador
ANTEL	Administracion Nacional de Telecomunicaciones	National Administration for Telecommunications

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Comprehensive Glossary of Salvadoran Organizations (continued)

Acronym	Spanish Title	English
AP	Alianza Productiva	Productive Alliance
APA ^a	Asociacion de Proveedores Agricolas	Association of Agricultural Suppliers
APCAES ^a	Asociacion de Productores de Cana de Azucar de El Salvador	Association of Salvadoran Sugarcane Producers
APES	Asociacion de Periodistas de El Salvador	Association of Salvadoran Journalists
APES ^a	Asociacion Pesquera de El Salvador	Salvadoran Fishing Association
APHES ^a	Asociacion de Productores de Henequen de El Salvador	Association of Henequen Producers of El Salvador
APLES ^a	Asociacion de Productores de Leche de El Salvador	Milk Producers' Association of El Salvador
APROCEL	Asociacion de Profesionales de la Comision Ejecutiva Hidroelectrica del Rio Lempa	Professional Association of the Rio Lempa Hydroelectric Executive Commission
ARDES	Accion Revolucionaria de Estudiantes de Secundaria	Revolutionary Action of Secondary School Students
ARENA ^b	Alianza Republicana Nacionalista	Nationalist Republican Alliance
ARS	Accion Revolucionaria Salvadorena	Salvadoran Revolutionary Action
ASA ^a	Asociacion Salvadorena de Agricultores o Asociacion Salvadorena Agropecuaria	Salvadoran Association of Farmers or Salvadoran Agricultural Association
ASAP ^a	Asociacion Salvadorena de Agencias de Publicidad	Salvadoran Association of Advertising Agencies
ASCGR ^a	Asociacion Salvadorena de Criadores de Ganado Registrado	Salvadoran Association of Registered Cattle Breeders
ASDER ^a	Asociacion Salvadorena de Radiodifusores	Salvadoran Association of Broadcasters
ASDV ^a	Asociacion Salvadorena de Distribuidores de Vehiculos	Salvadoran Association of Motor Vehicle Distributors
ASEIG ^a	Asociacion Salvadorena de Empresarios de Industrias Graficas	Salvadoran Association of Printing Industry Owners
ASERP	Asociacion Salvadorena de Ejecutivos de Relaciones Publicas	Salvadoran Association of Public Relations Executives
ASES	Asociacion Salvadorena de Empresas de Seguros	Salvadoran Association of Insurance Companies
ASI ^{a b}	Asociacion de Sectores Industriales (o) Asociacion Salvadorena de Industriales	Association of the Industrial Sectors (or) Salvadoran Industrialists' Association
ASIA	Asociacion Salvadorena de Ingenieros y Arquitectos	Salvadoran Association of Engineers and Architects
ASOB	Asociacion Salvadorena de Oficiales Bancarios	Salvadoran Association of Banking Officials
ASPAS	Asociacion Sindical de Pilotos Aviadores Salvadorenos	Trade Union Association of Salvadoran Airline Pilots
ASR	Asociacion Salvadorena de Radiodifusores	Salvadoran Association of Radio Broadcasters
ATACES	Asociacion de Trabajadores Agropecuarios y Campesinos de El Salvador	Association of Salvadoran Agricultural-Livestock Workers and Peasants
ATES	Asociacion Salvadorena de Transportistas	Salvadoran Association of Drivers
AUTMES ^a	Asociacion de Usuarios de Transporte Maritimo de El Salvador	Association of Maritime Transport Users of El Salvador
AVBLN	Asociacion de Vendedores de Billetes de la Loteria Nacional	Association of National Lottery Ticket Sellers
AVPES	Asociacion de Vendedores Profesionales de El Salvador	Association of Salvadoran Professional Salesmen
BPR ^b	Bloque Popular Revolucionario	People's Revolutionary Bloc
BPS	Brigadas Proletarios Salvadorenas	Salvadoran Proletariat Brigades
BRES	Brigadas Revolucionarias Estudiantes Salvadorenas	Salvadoran Students Revolutionary Brigades
BTC	Brigadas de Trabajadores del Campo	Workers Brigades of the Countryside

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Comprehensive Glossary of Salvadoran Organizations (continued)

Acronym	Spanish Title	English
CAESS	Compania de Alumbrado Electrico de El Salvador	Electric Light Company of El Salvador
CAS ^b	Comando Anticomunista Salvadorena	Salvadoran Anticomunist Command
CASL ^a	Cooperativa Algodonera Salvadorena, Ltda.	Salvadoran Cotton Cooperative, Ltd.
CBO	Comite de Bases Obreras	Workers Base Committee
CCAES	Camara de Comercio Americana de El Salvador	American Chamber of Commerce of El Salvador
CCE ^b	Consejo Central de Elecciones	Central Electoral Council
CCEA	Consejo Coordinador de Empresas Agropecuarios	Coordinating Council for Agricultural and Livestock Enterprises
CCIES ^{a b}	Camara de Comercio e Industria de El Salvador	Chamber of Commerce and Industry of El Salvador
CCS ^b	Comite Coordinador de Sindicatos	Trade Union Coordinating Committee
CCS	Centro de Campesinos Salvadorenos	Salvadoran Peasants Center
CDHES ^b	Comision de Derechos Humanos de El Salvador	Salvadoran Human Rights Commission (two commissions with same name)
CEDA	Centro de Desarrollo Agropecuario	Center for Agricultural Development
CEES (or CEDES) ^b	Conferencia Episcopal de El Salvador	Episcopal Conference of El Salvador
CEFA	Centro de Estudios de las Fuerzas Armadas	Armed Forces Study Center
CEL	Comision Ejecutiva Hidroelectrica del Rio Lempa	Lempa River Hydroelectric Executive Commission
CENAP	Centro Nacional de Productividad	National Center for Productivity
CENTA	Centro Nacional de Tecnologia	National Center for Technology
CEPA	Comision Ejecutiva Portuaria Autonoma	Autonomous Executive Port Commission
CESAH	Comite Ecumenico Salvadoreno de Ayuda Humanitaria	Salvadoran Ecumenical Committee for Humanitarian Aid
CGS ^b	Confederacion General de Sindicatos	General Confederation of Trade Unions
CGT ^b	Confederacion General de Trabajadores	General Confederation of Workers
CGTS	Confederacion General de Trabajadores Salvadorenos	General Confederation of Salvadoran Workers
CIS	Comite Inter-Sindical	Inter-Trade Union Committee
Comite de Madres ^b	Comite de Madres y Familiares de Presos, Desaparecidos y Asesinados Politicos de El Salvador Monsenor Oscar Arnulfo Romero	Archbishop Romero Salvadoran Committee of Mothers and Relatives of Political Prisoners, Missing and Assassinated Persons
CNE	Comite Nacional de Emergencia	National Emergency Committee
CNT ^b	Confederacion Nacional de Trabajadores	National Confederation of Workers
COMAPAN	Cooperativa de Maestros Panaderos	Cooperative of Master Bakers
CONAES ^b	Consejo Nacional de Empresas Salvadorenas	National Council of Salvadoran Business
CONAPLAN	Consejo Nacional de Planificacion y Coordinacion Economica	National Council for Economic Planning and Coordination
CONIP ^b	Conferencia Nacional de la Iglesia Popular	National Conference of the Popular Church
CONSISAL	Consejo Sindical Salvadoreno	Salvadoran Trade Union Council
COPEFA	Consejo Permanente de las Fuerzas Armadas	Permanent Council of the Armed Forces
COPREFA ^b	Comite de Prensa de las Fuerzas Armadas	Press Committee of the Armed Forces
COSDO	Consejo Sindical de Obreros	Trade Union Council of Workers
COSO	Central Obrera Sindical de Occidente	Trade Union Workers Central Organization of the West
CPD ^b	Comision Politico-Diplomatico	Political-Diplomatic Commission

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Comprehensive Glossary of Salvadoran Organizations (continued)

Acronym	Spanish Title	English
CRM ^b	Coordinadora Revolucionaria de las Masas	Revolutionary Coordinator of the Masses
CSEN	Comite Sindical de Emergencia Nacional	Trade Union Committee of National Emergency
CSI	Consejo de Sindicatos Independientes	Council of Independent Trade Unions
CSIC ^a	Camara Salvadorena de la Industria de Construccion	Salvadoran Chamber of the Construction Industry
CSO	Consejo Sindical de Oriente	Trade Union Council of the East
CST ^a	Camara Salvadorena de Turismo	Salvadoran Chamber of Tourism
CSU	Consejo Superior Universitario	University Higher Council
CTOS	Central de Trabajadores Organizados de El Salvador	Central Organization of Salvadoran Organized Workers
CTS ^b	Central De Trabajadores Salvadorenos	Central Organization of Salvadoran Workers
CUS	Comite de Unidad Sindical del Salvador	Committee for Salvadoran Trade Union Unity
CUTS	Confederacion Unitaria de Trabajadores Salvadorenos	United Confederation of Salvadoran Workers
DGEA	Direccion General de Economia Agropecuario	General Directorate of Agricultural Economy
DGOR	Direccion General de Obras de Riego	General Directorate of Irrigation Works
DIDECO	Direccion de Desarrollo Comunal	Directorate of Communal Development
DIPPSA	Distribuidora de Productos de Petroleo	Petroleum Products Distributor Corporation
DNI ^b	Direccion Nacional de Inteligencia	National Directorate of Intelligence
DRU ^b	Direccion Revolucionaria Unificada	Unified Revolutionary Directorate
EM ^b	Escuadron de la Muerte	Death Squadron
EMC ^b	Estado Mayor Conjunto	Joint General Staff
ERP ^b	Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo	People's Revolutionary Army
ESA ^b	Ejercito Secreto Anticomunista	Secret Anticommunist Army
FAL ^b	Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion	Armed Forces of Liberation
FALANGE	Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion y Guerra de Eliminacion	Armed Forces for Anticommunist Liberation and War of Elimination
	Frente Anticomunista de Liberacion-Guerra de Eliminacion	Anticommunist Front of Liberation—War of Elimination
FALCA	Frente Anticomunista para la Liberacion de Centro America	Anticommunist Front for the Liberation of Central America
FAN	Frente Amplio Nacional	Broad National Front
	Frente Anticomunista Nacional	National Anticommunist Front
FAPU ^b	Frente de Accion Popular Unida	United Popular Action Front
FARLP ^b	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Liberacion Popular	Popular Liberation Revolutionary Armed Forces
FARN ^b	Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Nacional	Armed Forces of National Resistance
FARO	Frente Agropecuario de la Region Oriental	Agricultural Front for the Eastern Region
FARP	Frente Accion Revolucionaria del Pueblo	People's Revolutionary Action Front
	Frente de Accion de la Resistencia Popular	Popular Resistance Action Front
FAU	Frente de Accion Universitario	University Action Front
FD	Frente Democratico	Democratic Front
FDN	Frente Democratico Nacionalista	Nationalist Democratic Front

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Comprehensive Glossary of Salvadoran Organizations (continued)

Acronym	Spanish Title	English
FDR ^b	Frente Democratico Revolucionario	Revolutionary Democratic Front
FECAMCO	Federacion de Camaras de Comercio del Istmo Centroamericano	Federation of Chambers of Commerce of the Central American Isthmus
FECCAS ^b	Federacion de Campesinos Cristianos	Federation of Salvadoran Christian Salvadorens Peasants
FEDECACES	Federacion de Cooperativas de Ahorro y Credito de El Salvador	Federation of Savings and Loan Cooperatives of El Salvador
FENAPES	Federacion Nacional de la Pequena Empresa Salvadorena	National Federation of Salvadoran Small Businesses
FENASTRAS ^b	Federacion Nacional Sindical de Trabajadores Salvadorens	Salvadoran Workers National Union Federation
FESACORA ^b	Federacion Salvadorena de Cooperativas de la Reforma Agraria	Federation of Salvadoran Agrarian Reform Cooperatives
FEPRO	Federacion de Profesionales	Federation of Professional Associations
FESIN-CONSTRANS ^b	Federacion de Sindicatos de la Industria de la Construccion, Transporte y Similares	Trade Union Federation of Construction, Transportation and Related Industries
FESINTEXIS	Federacion de Sindicatos Textiles, Similares y Conexos	Trade Union Federation of Textile, Similar and Related Industries
FESINTRABS	Federacion de Sindicatos de Trabajadores de Alimentos Bebidas y Similares	Trade Union Federation of Food, Beverage and Related Industries
FESINTRI-SEVA	Federacion de Sindicatos de Trabajadores en Varios Industrias y Servicios	Trade Union Federation of Workers in Various Industries and Services
FESTIA-VTSCS ^b	Federacion Nacional de Sindicatos de Trabajadores de la Industria del Alimento, Vestido, Textil, Similares y Conexos de El Salvador	Salvadoran National Trade Union Federation of Workers of the Food, Clothing, Textile, and Related Industries
FESTRAS ^b	Federacion Sindical de Trabajadores Salvadorens	Trade Union Federation of Salvadoran Workers
FICTAS	Federacion Internacional de Campesinos, Trabajadores Agricolas y Similares	International Federation of Peasants, Farm Workers and Related Workers
FINATA ^b	Financiera Nacional de Tierras Agricolas	National Financiers of Agricultural Lands
FLN	Frente de Liberacion Nacional	National Liberation Front
FMLN ^b	Frente Farabundo Marti de Liberacion Nacional	Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front
FMS	Federacion Magisterial Salvadorena	Federation of Salvadoran Teachers
FOCCO	Fomento y Cooperacion Comunal con Esfuerzo Propio y Ayuda Mutua	Self-Help and Mutual Aid Communal Development and Cooperation Program
FPA	Frente Politico Anticomunista	Anticommunist Political Front
FPL ^b	Fuerzas Populares de Liberacion	Popular Liberation Forces
FRAP	Fuerzas Revolucionarias Armadas Populares	People's Revolutionary Armed Forces
FRTS	Federacion Regional de Trabajadores Salvadorens	Regional Federation of Salvadoran Workers
FSR ^b	Federacion Sindical Revolucionaria	Revolutionary Trade Union Federation
FTC	Federacion de Trabajadores del Campo	Federation of Farm Workers
FUDI	Frente Unido Democratico Independiente	United Independent Democratic Front

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Comprehensive Glossary of Salvadoran Organizations (continued)

Acronym	Spanish Title	English
FUERSA	Frente Unido de Estudiantes Revolucionarios Salvador Allende	Salvador Allende United Front of Revolutionary Students
FUNPROCOP	Fundacion Promotora de Cooperativas	Cooperatives Promotion Foundation
FUR-30	Frente Universitario Revolucionario 30 de Julio	30 July Revolutionary University Front
FUSADES ^b	Fundacion Salvadorena para Desarrollo Economico y Social	Salvadoran Foundation for Economic and Social Development
FUSS ^b	Federacion Unitaria de Sindicatos Salvadorenos	Single Federation of Salvadoran Trade Unions
GN ^b	Guardia Nacional	National Guard
ICR	Instituto de Colonizacion Rural	Rural Settlement Institute
INACOP	Instituto Nacional de Cooperativas	National Institute of Cooperatives
INDES	Instituto Nacional de los Deportes de El Salvador	National Sports Institute of El Salvador
INDEP	Instituto Nacional de Pensiones de los Empleados Publicos	National Institute of Government Employee Pensions
INSAFI	Instituto Salvadoreno de Fomento Industrial	Salvadoran Institute for Industrial Development
INSAFOCOOP	Instituto Salvadoreno de Fomento Cooperativo	Salvadoran Institute of Cooperative Development
INSAFOP	Instituto Salvadoreno de Fomento de la Produccion	Salvadoran Institute for Production Development
IN-PRO	Instituto Salvadoreno de Productividad	Salvadoran Institute of Productivity
IRA	Instituto Regulador de Abastecimientos	Institute of Supply Regulation
ISCE	Instituto Salvadoreno de Comercio Exterior	Salvadoran Institute of Foreign Trade
ISIC	Instituto Salvadoreno de Investigaciones de Cafe	Salvadoran Institute of Coffee Research
ISSS	Instituto Salvadoreno de Seguro Social	Salvadoran Institute of Social Security
ISTA ^b	Instituto Salvadoreno de Transformacion Agraria	Salvadoran Institute of Agrarian Transformation
ISTU	Instituto Salvadoreno de Turismo	Salvadoran Institute of Tourism
IVU	Instituto de Vivienda Urbana	Institute of Urban Housing
JCS	Juventud Comunista de El Salvador	Communist Youth of El Salvador
JDC	Juventud Democrata Cristiana	Christian Democratic Youth
JRG	Junta Revolucionaria de Gobierno	Revolutionary Governing Junta
LIGAS	Ligas Campesinas	Peasants Leagues
LL	Liga para la Liberacion	Liberation League
LP-28 ^b	Ligas Populares 28 de Febrero	Popular Leagues of 28 February
LPC	Ligas Populares Campesinos	Popular Peasant Leagues
LPO	Ligas Populares Obreras	Popular Workers Leagues
LPS	Ligas Populares de Secundaria	Popular Secondary School Leagues
LPU	Ligas Populares Universitarias	Popular University Leagues
MAG	Ministerio de Agricultura y Ganaderia	Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock
MAN	Movimiento Anticomunista Nacional	National Anticomunista Movement
MBS	Mano Blanca Salvadorena	Salvadoran White Hand
MERECEN ^b	Movimiento Estable Republicano Centrista	Stable Centrist Republican Movement

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Comprehensive Glossary of Salvadoran Organizations (continued)

Acronym	Spanish Title	English
MERS	Movimiento de Estudiantes Revolucionarios de Secundaria	Movement of Revolutionary High School Students
MHM ^b	Alianza Anticomunista de El Salvador de la Gloriosa Brigada de Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez	Anticommunist Alliance of El Salvador of the Glorious Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez Brigade
MIPTES ^b	Movimiento Independiente de Profesionales Salvadoreños	Independent Movement of Salvadoran Professionals
MLP ^b	Movimiento de Liberacion Popular	People's Liberation Movement
MNR ^b	Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario	National Revolutionary Movement
MNS	Movimiento Nacional Suprapartidista	National Supraparty Movement
MOR ^b	Movimiento de Obreros Revolucionarios	Cayetano Carpio Revolutionary Workers Movement
MPSC ^b	Movimiento Popular Social Cristiano	Popular Social Christian Movement
MRC	Movimiento Revolucionario Campesino	Peasant's Revolutionary Movement
MRS	Movimiento Reformista Salvadoreño	Salvadoran Reformist Movement
MUN	Movimiento de Unidad Nacional	National Unity Movement
MUP	Movimiento de Unidad Popular	People's Unity Movement
MUSYGES ^b	Movimiento Unitario Sindicalista y Gremial de El Salvador	Labor Unity Movement of El Salvador
OLC	Organizacion para Liberacion de Comunismo	Organization for Liberation from Communism
OMCOM	Oficina de Mejoramiento Comunal	Community Improvement Office
OMR	Organizacion Magisterial Revolucionaria	Revolutionary Teachers Organization
ORDEN	Organizacion Democratica Nacionalista	Nationalist Democratic Organization
ORT	Organizacion Revolucionaria de los Trabajadores	Revolutionary Organization of Workers
OSPA	Oficina Sectorial de Planificacion Agropecuaria	Area Office for Agricultural-Livestock Planning
PAR	Partido Accion Renovadora	Renovation Action Party
PAISA ^b	Partido Autentico Institucional Salvadoreño	Salvadoran Authentic Institutional Party
PCES ^b	Partido Comunista de El Salvador	Communist Party of El Salvador
PCN ^b	Partido Conciliacion Nacional	National Conciliation Party
PDC ^b	Partido Democrata Cristiano	Christian Democratic Party
PH ^b	Policia de Hacienda	Treasury Police
PLN	Partido de Liberacion Nacional	Party of National Liberation
PN ^b	Policia Nacional	National Police
POP ^b	Partido de Orientacion Popular	Popular Orientation Party
PPS ^b	Partido Popular Salvadoreño	Salvadoran Popular Party
PRAM	Partido Revolucionario Abril y Mayo	April-May Revolutionary Party
PRIDECO	Programa Integral de Desarrollo Comunal	Integral Program of Community Development
PROCANA	Asociacion de Productores de Cana de Azucar	Association of Sugarcane Producers
PRS ^b	Partido de la Revolucion Salvadoreña	Salvadoran Revolutionary Party
PRTC ^b	Partido Revolucionario de Trabajadores Centramericanos	Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers
PRUD	Partido Revolucionario de Unificacion Democratica	Revolutionary Party of Democratic Unification
PSD	Partido Social Democratico	Social Democratic Party
PUCA	Partido Unionista Centroamericano	Central American Unionist Party

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Comprehensive Glossary of Salvadoran Organizations (continued)

Acronym	Spanish Title	English
PUDN	Partido Union Democratica Nacionalista	National Democratic Union Party
RN ^b	Resistencia Nacional	National Resistance
SAI	Sindicato de Auxiliares de Ingenieria	Trade Union of Engineering Assistance
SEIS	Sociedad de Estudiantes de Ingenieria y Arquitectura Salvadorenos	Association of Salvadoran Engineering and Architecture Students
SELSA	Sindicato de Empresa La Laguna, S. A.	Trade Union of the La Laguna Enterprise, Inc.
SEMECA	Sociedad de Estudiantes de Medicina Emilio Alvarez	Emilio Alvarez Association of Medical Students
SEUSS	Sociedad de Estudiantes Universitarios San Salvador	Association of San Salvador University Students
SFES	Sindicato de Fotografos de El Salvador	Trade Union of Salvadoran Photographers
SGOPC	Sindicato General de Obreros de Productos de Cemento	Trade Union of Cement Products Workers
SGTICES	Sindicato General de Trabajadores de la Industria de la Construccion de El Salvador	General Trade Union of Workers of the Salvadoran Construction Industry
SIADDES	Sociedad de Ingenieros Agronomos de El Salvador	Association of Salvadoran Agricultural Engineers
SICAFE	Sindicato de la Industria del Cafe	Trade Union of the Coffee Industry
SICES	Sindicato de la Industria del Cemento de El Salvador	Trade Union of the Salvadoran Cement Industry
SIES	Sindicato de la Industria Electrica de El Salvador	Trade Union of the Salvadoran Electrical Industry
SIGAC	Sindicato de la Industria Gastronomica y Actividades Conexas	Trade Union of Workers in the Restaurant Industry and Related Activities
SIGEBAN	Sindicato de la Industria General de Empresas Bancarias y Asociaciones de Ahorro y Prestamo	Trade Union of the General Industry of Banking and Savings and Loans
SIMAS	Sindicato de la Industria de Muebles, Accesorios y Similares	Trade Union of the Furniture, Accessories and Related Industries
SINA	Sindicato de la Industria Nacional del Azucar	Trade Union of the National Sugar Industry
SIP	Sindicato de la Industria Pesquera	Trade Union of the Fishing Industry
SIPALAC	Sindicato de la Industria de Productos Alimenticos, Lacteos y Actividades Conexas	Trade Union of the Food, Dairy and Related Industries
SIPES	Sindicato de la Industria Portuaria de El Salvador	Trade Union of Salvadoran Port Workers
SIT	Sindicato Industria Textil	Trade Union of the Textile Industry
SITRACOCS	Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Construccion y Conexas Salvadorenas	Trade Union of Salvadoran Workers in Construction and Related Activities
SITUS	Sindicato de Trabajadores Universitarios Salvadorenos	Trade Union of Salvadoran University Workers
SJC ^b	Socorro Juridico Cristiano	Christian Legal Aid
SNIC	Sindicato Nacional de la Industria de la Carne	National Trade Union of the Meat Industry
SNTIT	Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Industria de Transporte	National Trade Union of Transportation Industry Workers
SNTS	Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores Sastres	National Trade Union of Tailors
SOTMES	Sindicato Obrero Textil de Mejoramiento Social	Trade Union for Social Improvement of Textile Workers
STAG	Sindicato de Trabajadores de Artes Graficas	Trade Union of Graphic Arts Workers
STEES	Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Educacion de El Salvador	Trade Union of Salvadoran Education Workers
STIADES	Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria Electrica	Trade Union of Electric Industry Workers
STIGCES	Sindicato de Trabajadores de las Industrias Graficas y Conexas de El Salvador	Trade Union of Salvadoran Graphics and Related Industries

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Comprehensive Glossary of Salvadoran Organizations (continued)

Acronym	Spanish Title	English
STIMBS	Sindicato de Trabajadores de Industrias Metalicas Basicas y Similares	Trade Union of Basic Metals and Related Industries Workers
STIMCES	Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria Minera y Conexas de El Salvador	Trade Union of Salvadoran Mining and Related Industries Workers
STIMMB	Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria Mecanica y Metalicas	Trade Union of Mechanical and Basic Metals Industries Workers
STIRTES	Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria de Radio, Teatro y Television de El Salvador	Trade Union of Salvadoran Radio, Theater and Television Industry Workers
STISSS (or STISS)	Sindicato de Trabajadores del Instituto Salvadoreno del Seguro Social	Trade Union of Salvadoran Social Security Institute Workers
STITASSC	Sindicato de Trabajadores de Industrias Textil, Algodon, Sinteticas, Similares y Conexas	Trade Union of Textile, Cotton, Synthetic, Similar and Related Industries Workers
STIUSA ^b	Sindicato Textil Industrias Unidas, S. A.	Trade Union of United Textile Industries, Inc.
SUTC ^b	Sindicato Union de Trabajadores de la Construccion	United Trade Union of Construction Workers
TL (or) Tutela Legal ^b	Oficina de Tutela Legal del Arzobispado, Comision Arquidiocesana de Justicia y Paz	Archbishop's Office of Legal Protection, Archdiocesan Justice and Peace Commission
UCA ^b	Universidad Centro Americana (Jose Simeon Canas)	Central American University (Jose Simeon Canas Catholic University)
UCR	Union de Campesinos Revolucionarios	Revolutionary Peasants Union
UCS ^b	Union Comunal Salvadorena	Salvadoran Communal Union
UDES	Union de Directores de Empresa de El Salvador	Union of Directors of Enterprises of El Salvador
UDN ^b	Union Democratica Nacionalista	Nationalist Democratic Union
UES ^b	Universidad de El Salvador	University of El Salvador
UFDC	Union Femenina Democrata Cristiana	Christian Democratic Women's Union
UGAASAL	Union General de Artistas y Autores Salvadorenos	General Union of Salvadoran Artists and Authors
UGB	Union Guerrera Blanca	White Warriors Union
UIT ^a	Union de Industrias Textiles	Union of Textile Industries
UNJ	Union Nacional Jornalera	National Union of Laborers
UNO	Union Nacional de Oposicion	National Union of Opposition
UNOC	Union Nacional de Obreros Cristianos	National Union of Christian Workers
UPD ^b	Union Popular Democratica	Popular Democratic Union
UPT	Union de Pobladores de Tugurio	Union of the Slum Dwellers
UR-19	Universitarios Revolucionarios 19 del Julio	19 July Revolutionary University Students
UTC	Union de Trabajadores del Campo	Union of Farm Workers
UTF	Union de Trabajadores Ferrocarrileros	Railroad Workers Union
VP	Vanguardia Proletaria	Proletarian Vanguard

^a Member of ANEP, which is discussed in the text and appendix A.

A few ANEP members also are separately listed in appendix A.

^b For details see appendix A. A few organizations of historical interest (for example, JRG, ORDEN) are described in the text.

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A Guide to Key Political Groups

Acronym	Name	Political Orientation
ACOPAI	Association of Cooperatives of Integrated Livestock Products	Centrist
AD	Democratic Action Party	Centrist
ANEP	National Association of Private Enterprise	Extreme rightist
ARENA	Nationalist Republican Alliance	Extreme rightist
CONAES	National Council of Salvadoran Businesses	Centrist
CTS	Central Organization of Salvadoran Workers	Centrist
ERP	People's Revolutionary Army	Extreme leftist
FAPU	United Popular Action Front	Extreme leftist
FARN	Armed Forces of National Resistance	Extreme leftist
FDR	Revolutionary Democratic Front	Extreme leftist
FESTRAS	Trade Union Federation of Salvadoran Workers	Centrist or center leftist
FINATA	National Financiers of Agricultural Lands	Centrist
FMLN	Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front	Extreme leftist
FPL	Farabundo Marti Popular Liberation Forces	Extreme leftist
LP-28	Popular Leagues of 28 February	Extreme leftist
MERECEN	Stable Centrist Republican Movement	Extreme rightist or rightist
MNR	National Revolutionary Movement	Leftist
MUSYGES	Labor Unity Movement of El Salvador	Leftist or extreme leftist
ORDEN	Nationalist Democratic Organization	Extreme rightist
PAISA	Salvadoran Authentic Institutional Party	Center rightist or rightist
PCES	Salvadoran Communist Party	Extreme leftist
PCN	National Conciliation Party	Center rightist
PDC	Christian Democratic Party	Centrist
POP	Popular Orientation Party	Extreme rightist or rightist
PPS	Salvadoran Popular Party	Extreme rightist or rightist
PRTC	Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers	Extreme leftist
UDN	National Democratic Union	Extreme leftist
UPD	Popular Democratic Union	Centrist

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